

# THE AMERICAN MONTHLY

## *Review of Reviews.*

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### THE PROGRESS OF THE WORLD.

*Ireland's Great Land Bill Adopted.* The British Parliament was prorogued on August 14, November 2 being agreed upon as the date for re-assembling. The session will have been memorable in history for its adoption of the Irish land-purchase bill, which will become operative on the first day of November. The detailed character of this great measure will be better understood when set forth in its concrete working; and we shall have occasion to revert to the subject in a more elaborate explanation when the act has been somewhat tested by experience. Its general features have more than once been set forth in the pages of this REVIEW. From the standpoint of the people of Ireland, it is a measure for transferring the ownership of farms from landlords to tenants by means of a great loan of government money. From the point of view of British finance, it is a scheme for the creation

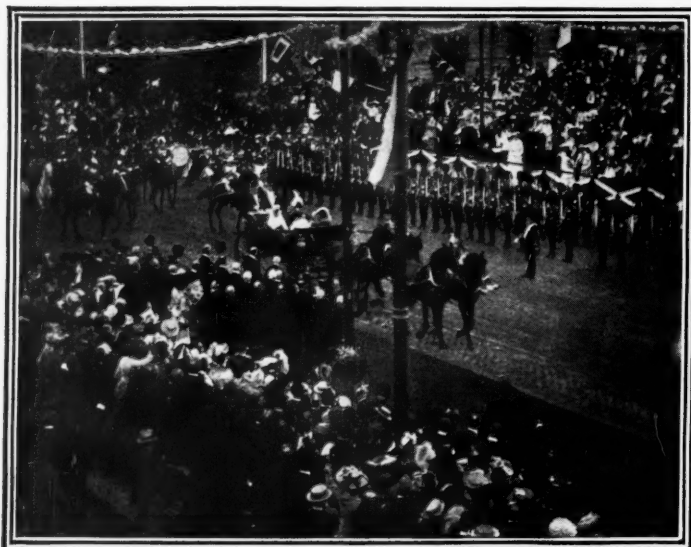
of a new interest-bearing debt of a maximum amount of \$500,000,000, with the proceeds of which the Irish landlords are to be bought out, and which is to be taken care of by the purchasing farmers, who will repay the loan to the government in installments through a long period of years. The plan further provides for a free gift,—eventually aggregating some \$60,000,000,—in the form of bonuses to the landlords to induce them to sell. This measure will take its place in history as one of profound political importance, as well as of great economic significance and interest. It will not wholly settle agrarian problems for distressed Ireland, but it will cover a great part of the situation, and it will make far easier what may be found to remain of the task.

*Advantages to the Three Parties Concerned.*

The gift that the British Government itself makes toward this solution will prove to have been a good investment, and it will be so distributed as not to be felt as it enters into the budget from year to year. Furthermore, this gift is to be offset by a progressive reduction in the amounts spent by England for the administration and policing of Ireland. The scale upon which the landlords are to be remunerated is regarded in Ireland as unduly liberal; but, since the British Government carries the debt for the purchasing tenant at an extremely low rate of interest, the immediate result is that the annual payment (covering interest and installments on the principal) will be decidedly less than the present payment of rent to the landlord. As for the landlord himself, the proposals are upon the whole advantageous to him, for the reason that if he did not sell under present proposals he would in a few years have to face the third periodical readjustment of rents by judicial process under the earlier land acts, with the certain result of a marked reduction in his income.



FASCINATING EDWARD.—From the World (New York).



THE KING AND QUEEN ARRIVING IN DUBLIN.

*A Revival of Irish Life.* Along with this new land-purchase act appear many indications of a revival of Irish life. Some months ago, we published an elaborate statement by Mr. Horace Plunkett (whom we must now call Sir Horace, since he was deservedly knighted by King Edward a few weeks ago, on the occasion of the King's visit to Ireland) of the remarkable work of the Irish agricultural societies in Ireland, of which Mr. Plunkett has been the chief promoter. The land-purchase act will give the Irish farmer a wholly new sense of security and permanence; and this excellent coöperative movement will take on large proportions in the near future. We are destined to see a transformation in Irish farming comparable with that which has taken place in Denmark, for example. There are signs of promise in the direction of enlarged railroad facilities for the Irish people, and of the development of new industries. With the gradual disappearance of the land question, the principal obstacle in the way of some form of Irish home rule will be removed, and we shall probably within a few years see that subject taken up on its merits, and with comparatively little of the old-time prejudice, by the leaders of all parties in England. With Ireland prosperous and contented, its own desire, indeed, for a separate parliament at Dublin may considerably wane. The leading public men of Ireland may, on the contrary, with their genius for politics, eventually prefer to keep their seats in the great parliament at Westminster. This, however, would not be incompatible with the existence at

Dublin of a subordinate law-making body analogous in some respects to a State legislature or a colonial parliament.

*England's Pending Tariff Debate.* The chief question under discussion in England continues to be Mr. Chamberlain's demand for a revision of the commercial policy and fiscal system of the British Empire. Since, however, Mr. Chamberlain's proposals have thus far been exceedingly vague, the discussion will not assume a fixed and definite basis for another month. Early in October, Mr. Chamberlain is slated for certain important speeches, in which it is promised that he will outline his views with some clearness and definiteness. There are many people of po-

litical experience and knowledge in England who believe that dissensions inside the Balfour cabinet, growing out of Mr. Chamberlain's so-called disruptive proposals, cannot be kept in the background many weeks longer, and that there must certainly be a break-up of Parliament and a general election before winter. But



THE EARL OF DUDLEY.

(Who as Lord-Lieutenant entertained the King in Dublin.)



the more trustworthy advices are to the effect that the leading members of the ministry have agreed—perhaps at the King's request—to tide over until next spring. In any case, the British public has been fairly launched upon an excited discussion of the tariff question, which will not abate until the people have had a chance to vote upon it in the election of a new Parliament. On this point, all are agreed.

*What Mr.  
Chamberlain  
Wants.*

Meanwhile, Mr. Chamberlain last month made the following brief negative statement of his position:

I have never suggested any tax whatever on raw materials such as wool or cotton, and I believe that such a tax would be entirely unnecessary for the purposes I have in view,—namely, for mutual preference with the colonies and for enabling us to bargain for better terms with our foreign competitors.

As regards food, there is nothing in the policy of tariff reform which I have put before the country which need increase in the slightest degree the cost of living of any family in the country.

This does not sound so bold as his earlier utterances. Unless he proceeds to present some positive and exact policy, he will be put in the position of a man who has disrupted his party and sacrificed his own career for nothing worth mentioning. This, however, is not like Mr. Chamberlain, and we shall doubtless find later on that he has some substantial proposals to make for the protection of British industry and the encouragement of the colonies. The world at large will watch the forming of the battle lines on this great question with deep interest.

*Is England to  
Reverse Her  
Policy?*

Heretofore, it has been clearly to England's advantage to deal with the world at large on the freest possible terms. It is an open question whether henceforth it may be more profitable to unite in a trade policy with Canada, Australia, and other British possessions. Conditions in England heretofore have been exactly the reverse of those in the United States; so that the logic of a man believing in the duty and advantage of national development would have made the American protectionist a free trader if he went to live in England, while it has almost invariably made the English free trader a high protectionist when he has come to live in the United States. It is wholly probable that the people of England will decide that it must still for many years to come be to their advantage to import food and raw materials as cheaply as possible, and to sell their manufactured wares in all the markets of the world. The intricacy of the problems involved in an attempt to adopt an imperial tariff policy

that would be agreeable alike to the United Kingdom, the Canadian Dominion, and the Australian Commonwealth would seem to be too much for the intellect of any statesman of this generation. It is almost certain, therefore, that the outcome of the discussion will be the discovery that the only kind of satisfactory agreement possible is the agreement to let each member of the British



THE DUKE OF MARLBOROUGH.  
(New Under-Secretary for the Colonies.)

family of self-governing peoples make its own tariff regulations in the light of what it regards as its own best interests. And the United Kingdom will, with similar likelihood, decide to remain on its safe, solid, and always defensible basis of universal free trade, modified only by certain low customs taxes for revenue purposes.

*Canada's  
Trade  
Relations.*

Sir Wilfrid Laurier and other Canadian authorities are reported to have said that proposed preferential arrangements along the line of Mr. Chamberlain's imperial programme need not stand in the way of a reciprocity treaty with the United States. While the Canadians are quoted as predominantly favorable to the Chamberlain idea, they do not appear to be greatly enthusiastic over it. They recognize the fact that they could expect no advantage in the English market except a small one for wheat and some other food products. Meanwhile, their commercial relations

with this country are of much greater practical importance. Our trade with Canada is growing faster than ever before, although under her present system she gives England a 33-per-cent. reduction from the tariff rates our goods are obliged to pay. It must be remembered, however, that two-fifths of the goods imported into Canada pay no duty at all, and that the average rate on the dutiable three-fifths is only a little more than 27 per cent. Thus, a hundred dollars' worth of goods, if imported into Canada from the United States, would pay an average duty of twenty-seven dollars, while if imported from England it would pay about eighteen dollars. While this difference constitutes a very desirable favor to the British manufacturer, it is not large enough to discourage his more enterprising American competitors. The result has been, therefore, that, with Canada's growth and prosperity in purchasing power and total volume of trade, the imports from the United States have developed much more rapidly than those from England or other European countries.

*Growth of Our Trade with the Dominion.* The new statistics showing the trade of the past fiscal year illustrate this development in a striking manner. Thus, our exports to Canada last year amounted in round figures to \$123,500,000. It has been just six years since Canada began to discriminate against us in favor of England, and in that time our exports to the Dominion have almost doubled, having increased from \$65,000,000 to the present volume. Our imports from Canada in the recent fiscal year amounted to about \$55,000,000. While this is the largest amount we have ever purchased from Canada in a single year, it is not nearly as large as it ought to be; and it is desirable, both for the Canadians and for ourselves, that there should be a readier access to our markets for some of the more important Canadian products. The statement was current last month that Sir Wilfrid Laurier would confer at some time in the present month of September with American members of the Joint High Commission, with a view to arranging for an early session of that almost forgotten body. Our own Northwest is deliberately working for closer trade relations with Canada; and now that the Alaska boundary question has been referred to a specially created tribunal, it is hard to see why anything important should stand in the way of a serious and good-tempered effort to draft a mutually beneficial reciprocity treaty. One may venture to guess that it will be a long time, indeed, before Canada will get any practical results from the proposal to provide protective markets

for her products in Great Britain; but it is among things easily possible that Canada might within a year or two find a great outlet opened to her products by virtue of an arrangement with her nearest neighbor and her natural commercial partner.

*Canada's Attitude Toward This Country.* The chambers of commerce of the British Empire held their fifth congress last month at Montreal, under the presidency of Lord Brassey and under the special auspices of Lord Strathcona, who is Canada's chief representative in England. It was natural that this body should in a general way applaud the Chamberlain idea of closer relations of trade, as well as of defense, throughout the empire. But the delegates from England were quick to rebuke the petty Canadian jingoism that blustered against the United States. Everybody in the world outside of the Dominion knows well enough that Canada owes nine-tenths of her security, as well as of her prosperity, to the combined strength and neighborliness of the United States. While nothing is so popular in Canada nowadays as to say disagreeable things about this country, such remarks need not be taken very seriously. This Canadian attitude is more like the sectional grumbling of the West against the East, or of the South against the North, in our own country, than like the deeper antipathy of really hostile peoples. If the Canadians have shown themselves somewhat resentful and petulant in their attitude toward the United States, they have had some excuse in the stupidity and shortsightedness with which American public men have as a rule dealt with all questions involving our neighbors on the north.—neighbors who were entitled from every point of view to the most careful consideration and the most liberal treatment.

*New Zealand and Australia for Chamberlainism.* The Hon. Richard J. Seddon, who has held the office of prime minister of New Zealand now for full ten years, last month introduced his annual budget bill in the General Assembly with a speech strongly favoring the idea that New Zealand should at once stiffen up her system of duties, on the Canadian plan of a protective tariff which could be enforced against other countries but reduced or abolished in favor of England. In the Commonwealth of Australia, where protectionist sentiment is, upon the whole, dominant, and a tolerably high protective tariff now exists, the protectionist leaders have agreed upon the policy of seeking to increase the duties practically to the prohibitive point, and then to relax them in favor of Great Britain on condition of a



THE MAORI KING ADDRESSING MR. SEDDON AT HIS SWEARING-IN AS A MEMBER OF THE NEW ZEALAND CABINET.

preferential treatment of Australian goods in England. Thus, the British colonies at the Antipodes are disposed to take the Chamberlain programme seriously and to prepare themselves to receive its benefits.

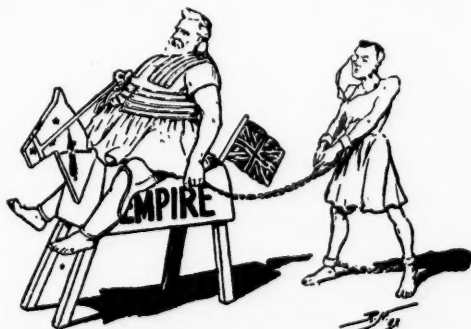
*New Zealand Topics.*

Questions of race and of labor are pending in almost every part of the British Empire. New Zealand, perhaps, is the region of least disturbance on such grounds. In that great island, the long-standing alienation between the native Maoris and

the government has now been removed, and the Maori king has been sworn in as a member of Mr. Seddon's cabinet. In spite of faults found with it elsewhere, the arbitration and conciliation policy of New Zealand seems to operate in a fairly effective way in industrial disputes.

*Settling a Railroad Strike in Australia.*

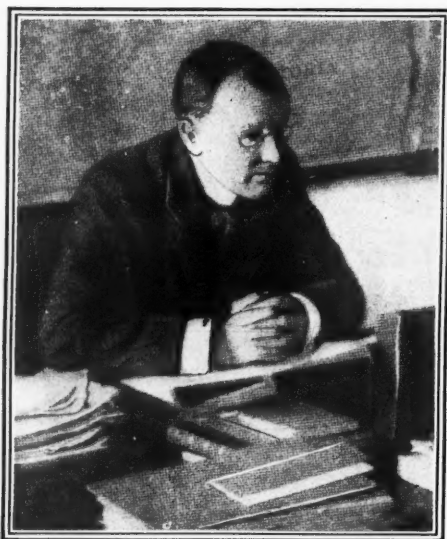
Since the Australian states, like New Zealand, have gone so far in the direction of government ownership and operation of railroads, telegraphs, and other public services, it is always worth while to note the effect of such a policy upon the political and economic position of organized labor. Trade-unionism has, in fact, been a potent if not a dominant factor much of the time in the legislatures and government of the Australian colonies. But the government employees connected with the railroads and kindred services have not been permitted to affiliate themselves with organized political and labor movements. Some weeks ago, however, in the colony of Victoria, the central labor organization, known as the Trades Hall, at Melbourne, undertook to bring the railway employees into affiliation with it; and the locomotive engineers ventured to respond and join the organization. They were instructed by the prime minister, Mr. Irvine, that this was against the rules of the service. They persisted, however, and threatened to strike and tie up the whole transportation



RICH. JOH. SEDDON TRIUMPHUS.

Since Mr. Seddon's modest announcement that Mr. Chamberlain was following his lead, there can be no doubt who is Master of the Empire.

From the Otago Witness (New Zealand).



MR. IRVINE, THE VICTORIAN PREMIER.

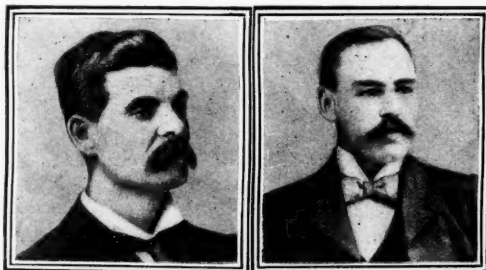
system of the colony. Mr. Irvine's refusal to concede anything led, finally, to the precipitation of the strike, with the result of very serious inconvenience to the public. The premier immediately called the provincial parliament in session and introduced a drastic measure treating the strike as a conspiracy against the state,— participation in it to be punishable by a large fine and a considerable term of imprisonment. Although the Labor party was strongly represented in Parliament, it was not able to oppose successfully the tremendous force of public opinion which came to the support of Mr. Irvine. The upshot was that the strikers surrendered unconditionally and went back to work. The point is now regarded in Australia as settled that trade-unionism cannot invade the public service of a state and dictate to a sovereign government. Organized labor will continue to be a strong force in Australia, but this and various other events of the past year or two have been teaching it that the government cannot be run in the interest of a single class.

Australia, however, has been having a more serious discussion over other phases of the labor problem, notably those having to do with the question of a sufficient supply of common workmen. There is a growing determination that Australia shall be kept as a "white man's country," and that the introduction of colored labor, whether black or yellow, shall be prevented as far as possible. The opposition to the introduction of Kanaka

*The Color Question in Australia.*

labor for the cultivation of sugar led some time ago to the adoption of a plan of paying bounty for sugar grown by white labor. Of the past year's sugar crop of about one hundred thousand tons in New South Wales and Queensland, nearly seven-tenths was produced by black labor. Upon the other three-tenths, a government bounty was paid. The bonus is about ten dollars per ton. The great Australian Commonwealth has indeed gone very far in many directions in its war against workers of other races than the white. Thus, no contract can be made for the carrying of Australian mails with any steamship line which allows a colored man to work on any of its ships. This is a new measure, and it has been of late the subject of a lively controversy between the Australian government and the two Chamberlains in London,—namely, Mr. Joseph Chamberlain, the colonial secretary, and his son,— Mr. Austin Chamberlain, who is now serving as British postmaster-general.

The fact is that mail-carrying steamship companies which have hitherto performed the service of carrying mails back and forth between Great Britain and the Australian ports have been largely manned by dark-skinned British subjects who are natives of India, and the British Government is under a special obligation not to discriminate against these Indians in view of certain clauses in what is known as the Mutiny Act in India. These same ships, it is to be remembered, will carry, also, the Indian mails, and it would be manifestly impossible for Lord Curzon's government of India to join in mail contracts containing clauses excluding dark-skinned men from employment. If the question were up again, in view of its present aspects it is possible that the Australian government would not have put this color clause into its postal act; but the thing having been done, the government seems disinclined to



Mr. N. Hart, president of  
Engine Drivers and Firemen's  
Association.

Mr. H. D. Scorer,  
general secretary.

THE RAILWAY STRIKE LEADERS IN VICTORIA.



reopen the question. They are even going so far as to propose the establishment of a government steamship mail service to Colombo, on the coast of Ceylon, in order to make connection there with a "white" steamship line. To show how far, indeed, they are carrying this policy, let it be said that there has within a few weeks been under consideration a measure, accepted and brought forward by the responsible government of the Australian Commonwealth, having as its object the exclusion of colored labor even from foreign steamships touching at Australian ports. This bill takes the form of requiring that all vessels while in Australian waters shall pay Australian rates of wages to their employees. This is to be interpreted in the light of the fact that Australian trade-unionism has excluded all colored labor from vessels engaged in the coasting trade or owned and registered in Australian ports, and has established regular wage scales at much higher rates than the English steamship companies pay to their East Indian employees. Negroes in the United States who will give some study to the facts will soon be satisfied that in most respects the colored race is far better treated in all parts of this country than in Australia or South Africa.



A NEW TRICK, -ROUGH ON THE TIGER.

(Apropos of the British ministry's attempt to unload on India a part of its military bill in South Africa, in which it would not venture to ask Australia to share.)

RT. HON. TRAINER BALFOUR (rehearsing his money-raising act): "Now, then, come up, Stripes! (Aside) Daren't ask the Kangaroo."

From Punch (London).



OUT YOU GO!

THE S. A. JOHN BULL: "Look here! I won't have you here; you had better clear out!"

[Mr. Chamberlain, in the House of Commons, said that a revival of the old Transvaal anti-Asiatic law was necessary, pending legislation, owing to public feeling, but the law would be enforced leniently, and with due regard to educated Asiatics and the vested interests of traders.—*Reuter's Telegram.*]

From Hindi Punch (Calcutta).

The hard position of the negroes in South Africa is set forth in an article from the pen of an English contributor, Mr. Hawkes, which we publish elsewhere in this number. Race prejudice in South Africa, meanwhile, is being invoked to keep workmen from India out of the country, while the hostility against Chinese coolie labor is even more marked. The British Government is, however, proposing to keep South Africa in order with a large number of regiments of Indian soldiers, the expenses of which Mr. Chamberlain has been trying to load upon the exchequer of India,—a proposition to which Viceroy Curzon has most vigorously objected. It is evident that our British imperial friends are only at the beginning of a series of race problems that will cause them no little perplexity in the course of the next quarter-century.

The President on Negro Lynching.

The peculiarly active discussion of the race problem that has characterized the present season in the United States went on without much abatement last month, although with few incidents or utterances worth particular mention as making his-

tory or throwing light upon doubtful points. The most useful utterance was that of President Roosevelt, which took the form of a letter to Governor Durbin, of Indiana, on the subject of lynching. Its value did not lie in any novelty of view, but rather in the strong and sane manner in which it presented what is, and always has been, the conviction of all the best elements of American society. Where lynching seems to discriminate against the negro race, President Roosevelt justly dwelt upon the fact that the chief harm was done to the white community itself. Furthermore, he called upon the negroes themselves, in the most explicit way, to show their horror of the forms of negro crime that especially arouse the lynching mania. We are assured by those well qualified to speak that in the days of slavery such forms of crime were unknown; especially in the period when the Southern white men were away from farms and plantations taking part in the war, the white women at home were without the slightest fear of violence or wrong from the negroes round about them. Why do not the scholars and agitators of the negro race give more attention to the new phases of negro criminology? Why do they bother themselves so much about the lynching of negro criminals, and so little about the hideousness of negro crime? This, to be perfectly frank, is the most painful aspect of the whole problem.

*Lynch Law  
in General.*

As to the broader question of lynching and kindred disorders, most of the current discussion has been singularly lacking in the sense of historical perspective. Lynching in this country has been partly incident to rough-and-ready phases of the pioneering development of our great West, and partly due to similar causes in the South and Southwest,—plus the social disturbances resulting—(1) from the devastations and violence of the war period, (2) from the terrible frictions following the break-up of the system of slavery, and (3) from the hideous wrongs and mistakes of the reconstruction era. Lynching itself is not growing more frequent in the United States, but, on the contrary, is diminishing both absolutely and relatively. Furthermore, the disturbed social conditions out of which lynching and other like disorders grow are gradually rectifying themselves. There is no specific remedy for the lynching evil; but there is a general remedy,—namely, the progress of civilization. The current discussion will serve a useful end, not because it will lead to the invention of new ways to deal with criminals, but chiefly because it will help to arouse the conscience of the country and

to deepen the conviction that the cause of civilization is worth making sacrifices for. Governor Durbin showed excellent qualities of courage and promptness in his suppression of the Evansville mob. Fortunately, we have other governors, several of them in the Southern States, who are constantly showing precisely the same quality of vigilance and courage, directed to the same end.

*Phases of the  
Race Problem.*

The question at this stage best worth scientific and unprejudiced investigation is, what circumstances are producing certain criminal tendencies in a small and obscure portion of the negro race; and what means can be used to meet so serious a condition? The men and women who make up the negro community that pertains to the great institution at Tuskegee, Ala., constitute one of the most orderly and strictly moral neighborhoods in the entire country. Properly instructed and trained, the negroes are as a rule quite as exemplary in their conduct as the whites. Have not the penal systems of the South something to do with the brutalizing of the men who subsequently become the most dangerous criminals? We are publishing in this number a valuable discussion from the pen of Dr. Lyman Abbott upon the principles involved in the race problem as it now exists in this country. For the encouragement of those who hold a depressed view, we may venture to say that in no other country where serious race problems exist can one find a better disposition to deal justly with such subjects, on Dr. Abbott's high plane, than in our own country, South as well as North. In a very valuable and timely article which we present elsewhere, from the pen of Mr. Edmonds, of the *Manufacturers' Record*, of Baltimore, on the cotton crop of this country, it is shown that white farm labor is producing an increasing proportion of the cotton, and that the dictum that the negro is absolutely indispensable for cotton culture is fast becoming a worn-out tradition. Here we have a further demonstration that the race question need not be regarded as a hopeless one, since the presence of the negro in the South is not preventing the steady development of the poorer half of the white race, both in mills and on the land. Moral and industrial training for both races should be the watchword.

*The  
Macedonian  
Revolt.*

The long-vexed situation in Macedonia and the contiguous Balkan regions took an especially alarming turn last month. Several events stand out clearly, although the situation as a whole has been complicated, and the news has not always been either complete or reliable. Early in August, it devel-

oped that the Christian subjects of Turkey in Macedonia had by no means been suppressed in their recent revolutionary tendencies, but that they had become both active and formidable. Thousands of them were found to be in arms, having been supplied with munitions through the activity of Bulgarian committees and otherwise. The Turkish troops, on the other hand, though very numerous, had been for five or six months in the field, had not received their pay,



BORIS SARAFIOFF, LEADER OF THE MACEDONIAN PATRIOTS.

and had been growing relatively demoralized and inefficient. Under these circumstances, the insurgents grew more bold, captured some villages in the Monastir region, and showed their purpose to make the situation as intolerable for everybody as they possibly could. To this end, their leader sent word to the great powers of their determination to persist to the very end, reproaching the powers for their failure to do their duty in enforcing the provisions of the Treaty of Berlin. Through the spring and summer, reports had been industriously disseminated that the Turkish atrocities against the Christians had been greatly exaggerated; but upon the outside world there gradually dawned, last month, the conviction that the promised reforms had not in fact been instituted by the Turks, and that intolerable wrongs against the Christian population had continued.

*Bulgaria's  
Memorandum.*

This point of view was strengthened by an elaborate memorandum from the Bulgarian Government to the powers, dealing with Macedonian affairs during the three months up to the middle of August. This record was full of precise statements of fact, all derived from sources guaranteed by the Bulgarian Government to be absolutely reliable. To appreciate the animus of Bulgaria, it must be borne in mind that a large part of the population in the adjacent Turkish province is of Bulgarian blood, speech, and religion; and the memorandum from Sofia is devoted especially to a summing up of the perpetration of outrages against this Bulgarian population. The document was couched in the plainest and most severe terms. It resented the imputation of the Turkish Government that Bulgaria had fomented the revolutionary movement, and it made the countercharge that the movement was due solely to Turkey's bad administration. Such a document, if directed against the government of any other country except Turkey, would have resulted in an immediate declaration of war. The Bulgarian people, indeed, were ready and eager to fight, even against great odds. But Russia and Austria were evidently restraining the government at Sofia, and the wily and cautious Prince Ferdinand is regarded as a ruler who takes his orders chiefly from St. Petersburg. Dr. Petkoff, Bulgarian premier, pointed out that the Monastir district, which was the center of the latest disturbance, was removed by a district two hundred miles wide from the Bulgarian frontier, and that it was foolish to assert that the outbreak had been aided by filibustering bands from the principality. He also declared that most of the arms in the hands of the insurgents were of French manufacture, and had been obtained from unpaid and dissatisfied Turkish soldiers who had sold them to the revolutionists. Meanwhile, Turkey was pouring fifty thousand men as reinforcements into Macedonia.

*Russia's  
Attitude.*

More important than the Bulgarian's attitude toward the situation was that of Russia. In the early part of August, the Russian consul at Monastir was murdered by a Turkish soldier. The government at Constantinople went through forms of apology and made certain promises of reparation. These, however, were unsatisfactory to the Russian Government, which made a series of sweeping demands, including administrative reforms. To give impressiveness to these demands, a squadron of the Russian Black Sea fleet was on August 15

ordered to sail for Turkish waters. The squadron left Sebastopol on August 17, under command of Rear-Admiral Krueger. It consisted of four battleships, several torpedo destroyers, and a number of mine and torpedo transports. There was great surprise throughout Europe at this move, particularly in view of the fact that Austria seemed to have no information about it, although Austria and Russia have for a considerable time past had a distinct agreement regarding the general Balkan situation. It is now the fixed opinion of the civilized world that the Turkish Government ought to be driven out of Europe, but the difficulty in agreeing on what should come afterward prevents summary action. Premier Balfour spoke in a mild and evasive way on the subject, as Parliament was on the eve of prorogation, last month, while the English Liberal press was pointedly reminding him that the whole wretched situation in the Balkans was the direct result of the scheming of a former Tory prime minister—Disraeli—at the Berlin Conference. England's influence in the Eastern situation, so potent a quarter of a century ago, has waned to a point where it is now scarcely considered at all.

*Russia Not  
Seeking War.*

Although great bodies of Russian troops were in the Caucasus ready for action, while other great bodies were in the proximity of Bulgaria and Roumania, it was evident enough that Russia was not eager to become involved in a war with Turkey. For, in the first place, Russia will not care to fight again in that quarter until she can be sure that she will not be cheated out of the fruits of her victory by a combination of powers; while, on the other hand, she would like to be sure to have only one war on her hands at a time. But if she became involved in a war against the Turkish Empire at the present time, nothing except French action could prevent Japan from seizing the favorable moment to precipitate war in the far East, to rid Korea and Manchuria of Russian domination, and to destroy the overweening influence of Russia at Peking. The Japanese have been for weeks past in a state of intense excitement, and many observers have thought that nothing could keep them from making war upon Russia. There were reports last month of increased Russian activity all along the line of their far Eastern interests, and particularly in Korea. To give unity to the direction of his far Eastern policy, the Czar has made Vice-Admiral Alexieff the viceroy of the Amur territory and the Kwangtung province (as the Port Arthur district is now called), with special powers of a very arbitrary and sweeping



VICE-ADMIRAL ALEXIEFF.

character. This has further disturbed the sensibilities of the Japanese, who look upon Alexieff as their inveterate enemy, and as a leader of that element which favors the greatest extension of Russian policy on the Pacific. Quite regardless of his official title, Admiral Alexieff is in effect the authoritative ruler of Manchuria, just as Lord Cromer is in fact the ruler of Egypt. That part of the world will now be free from control by the more or less conflicting ministries at St. Petersburg, and will be ruled, for all purposes of civil and military administration, by the new viceroy. In some quarters, this is regarded as a victory of M. de Witte over the war minister, General Kuropatkin. It was also reported last month that there was a large movement of fresh troops from Russia to eastern Siberia, where, if necessary, in case of trouble with Japan, they could be dispatched toward the coast over the Manchurian Railroad.

*Empire  
Programme  
Can Wait.*

But Russia's more serious difficulties do not relate to the problems in the far East, nor yet to those in the Balkans. She can escape war with Japan by a policy of temporizing and caution. She can avoid, for the present, the formal annexation of Manchuria, while continuing to control it; and she can partly disguise and partly postpone her designs in Korea. Her one great minister, Witte, does not want war, and does not intend to have it, because he is a financier and knows that Russia must cultivate the arts of peace and develop her resources rather than increase her already



enormous public debt. Furthermore, Russia can, if she chooses, avoid war against Turkey; and it will undoubtedly appear to her to be for her best interest at present to keep the Turks in nominal possession. She is anxious, however, to extend her influence by degrees in the direction of the Mediterranean, and she never loses sight for a moment of her ultimate ambition, which is to obtain control of Constantinople.

During the past few weeks, there have been desperate strikes, suppressed by the military at an aggregate cost of hundreds of lives, in different parts of Russia; and a spirit of rude awakening and defiance is visible almost everywhere in the Czar's dominions. M. de Plehwe, the minister of the interior, has done his best to keep the news of these disturbances from reaching the outside world, but he has failed. Kieff seems to have been the most important center of the labor disturbances, and there the rioting and the conflicts between workmen and soldiers were especially severe. The number of people killed and wounded at Kieff alone in connection with labor riots, last month, was very much larger than the number of people killed and wounded in the world-famed Jewish massacres at Kishineff in April. At Odessa and in the immediate neighborhood, seventy thousand men were reported as on strike in the middle of August; and the number of strikers throughout Russia was estimated at not less than half a million men, supporting three millions of people. The Russian political revolutionists have been observing this situation with much encouragement, since they look upon labor organization as a means by which the people will gain confidence in themselves and will learn how to act together for their own interests. It is reported that there is some improvement in the position of the Jews in Russia, apparently as a result of outside criticism. The new provincial governor has been especially courteous to the Jews of Kishineff. Of the hundreds of people arrested for participation in the riots and massacres of April, a considerable number have been detained, and it is reported that about a hundred of them are to be put on trial next month. The Russian papers, as well as some in Germany and elsewhere, have had a great deal to say about lynching in the United States as a reason why it was unbecoming for Americans to criticise the massacre of Jews in Russia, and their cartoonists have also made the point, with much gleeful satire. An example of such cartoons,—an especially mild one, by the way,—is reproduced on this page.

*Russia's  
Desperate  
Labor Troubles.*



ROOSEVELT AND THE CZAR, -A FRIENDLY EXCHANGE.

"You cut up your Jews, I'll burn my negroes;" or, "Little presents preserve friendships."

From *Kladderadatsch* (Berlin).

*Crushing  
Finnish  
Liberties.*

The world has been looking on with quiet disapproval at the process of Russifying by force the distinct institutions of Finland. It is almost as if Turkey should somehow get control of a free and self-governing little state like Switzerland and then reduce it to the condition of a Moslem province ruled by a high-handed pasha. When Russia took Finland away from Sweden, ninety-four years ago, it was with the solemn promise to maintain the Finnish constitution and to allow the Finnish people to retain their own language, customs, internal laws, Lutheran religion, and national institutions. But for some years past the bureaucracy at St. Petersburg has been pursuing a programme for the assimilation of Finland, beginning with the army system and the finances, and extending the crusade from one sphere of Finnish life to another. This bad work has been carried on under the direction of General Bobrikoff, as governor-general with arbitrary powers. A considerable number of leading Finns have been expelled from the country during the past two or three months, and this process goes steadily on. The Scandinavian peoples are full of sympathy for their Finnish neighbors, and are uneasy for their own future. It seems incomprehensible that the Czar should

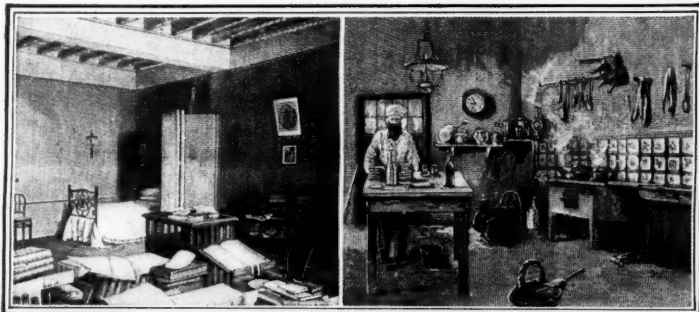
persist in a policy that creates so much bitterness, with so little corresponding advantage to his empire. It is, of course, to be said—from the point of view of the Russian autocracy—that the existence within the empire of a contented and prosperous self-governing province like Finland is a dangerous sort of object-lesson. But the object-lesson has stood for so many years that it has already served its purpose. To crush Finland at this late day will not make it any easier to maintain the Russian system elsewhere.

*The Election of a New Pope.* Cardinal Sarto was impressively crowned as Pope Pius X. on Sunday, August 9, in the presence of a vast multitude estimated at seventy thousand people, in the Church of St. Peter, at Rome. The Conclave for the choice of a new Pope had proved to be a brief one, and the result was hailed throughout the Roman Catholic Church,—and throughout the religious and political world as well,—as one praiseworthy in a high degree. At the opening of the Conclave, there were three candidates more prominent than any others, representing each a distinct and important ecclesiastical standpoint. Cardinal Rampolla, who had been Pope Leo XIII.'s efficient secretary of state, was regarded as representing more especially the tradition of intimacy between the Vatican and the French and Spanish peoples, and particularly the hostile position of the Church with reference to the Italian Government. While Rampolla was the strongest candidate, it was impossible for him to obtain a majority. Cardinal Vannutelli represented a different political tendency, favoring improved relations between the Vatican and the Triple Alliance, and indirectly representing a better *modus vivendi* between the Church and the crown and government of the Italian Kingdom. Obviously, the strength of the supporters of Rampolla was quite certain to prevent the election of Vannutelli. The second of the leading candidates, and one greatly esteemed, was Cardinal Gotti, who stood rather for the strictly religious aspects of the work of the Church than for any political ideas or tendencies. After two or three days of deliberation, and the taking of several inconclusive ballots, some of the cardinals, on Monday, August 3, took up Cardinal Sarto as a compromise candidate, with such good results as to secure his unanimous election

on Tuesday, August 4. He promptly chose for himself the title Pius X.

*Qualities of Pius X.* The new Pope came of a humble peasant family in the Venetian province, but early showed strong mind, high qualities of character, and a serious and religious bent. He entered the priesthood with excellent training and every mark of promise. He was steadily advanced, and in 1884 became Bishop of Mantua. In 1893, he was made a cardinal and became Patriarch of Venice, where his influence and popularity became almost unbounded. He is now sixty-eight years old, although he is said to look decidedly younger, and generally to show the vigor of a man of fifty. He has been on terms of personal friendship with two successive Italian kings, and has been liked and trusted by members of all classes and parties. He is regarded as having an aptitude for executive work and for affairs of state, and his choice was explicitly commended by all the European governments which have any practical or traditional reasons for concerning themselves about the election of a Pope. It is not to be supposed that his accession will in any immediate or tangible way heal the breach between the Vatican and the Italian Government. The new Pope, like his predecessor, must be expected to sustain the rôle of a prisoner in the Vatican, and must assert the claims of the Church to temporal authority. We publish elsewhere in this number two interesting articles regarding the new Pope and the significance of his election and position, by Mr. Talcott Williams and Mr. W. T. Stead.

*France and England.* There is to be noted a very fortunate and hopeful improvement of relations between France and England. King Edward is much liked by the French, and he is commended by some of their newspapers as deserving the title of "Peacemaker." They declare that he has brought about peace in South



SLEEPING-ROOM AND KITCHEN ASSIGNED TO EACH CARDINAL DURING THE CONCLAVE.



THE DINNER AT THE HOUSE OF COMMONS TO THE FRENCH DEPUTIES.

M. d'Estournelles had on his right hand the prime minister, Mr. Balfour, while among other notable guests were Mr. Chamberlain and Sir Henry Campbell-Bannerman.

Africa, tranquillity in Ireland, and especially a new era of sympathy and good-will between France and England. The brief official visit of President Loubet to the neighboring island monarchy has been followed by various pleasant indications of friendliness. Very notable indeed was the reception given in England to the Baron d'Estournelles de Constant and other members of the French Chamber of Deputies, representing the cause of international arbitration. The Baron d'Estournelles was one of the most active and conspicuous members of the Hague Peace Conference, and he has since that time been a welcome visitor to the United States. He has of late been doing everything in his power to promote good relations between France and England and to prepare the way for a general treaty of arbitration between the two countries. The Parisian newspapers are talking about an expected return visit of a group of members of the House of Commons, who will be received with open arms by serious-minded Frenchmen.

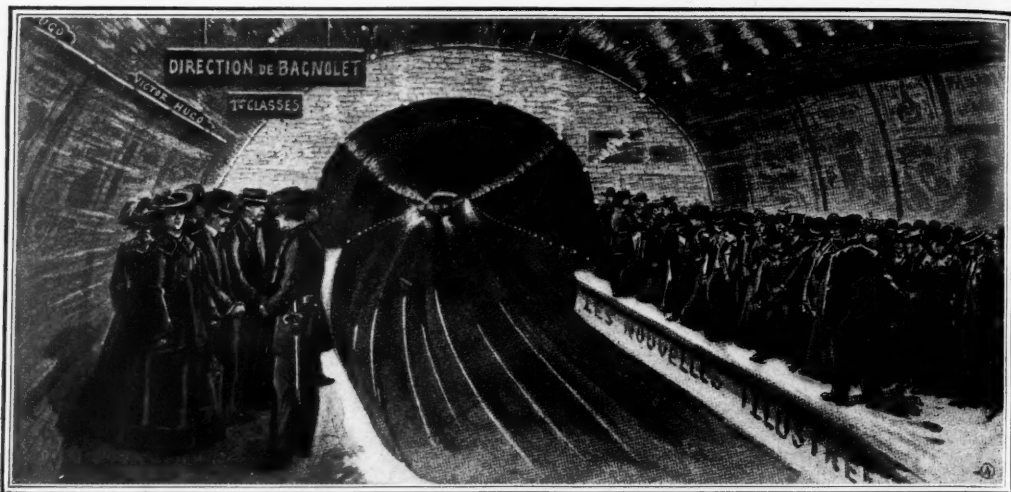
#### French Topics.

In general, the French have been enjoying a season of comparative quiet and content, and the republic has been especially fortunate in strengthening its friendly relations with other great powers without impairing the value of its alliance with Russia. Its navy, like that of all maritime nations,

continues to develop, and the efficiency, even more than the size, of the navy is being carefully considered by M. Pelletan, the remarkably energetic minister of marine, who is assisted by a permanent naval director, M. Tissier, of exceptional administrative talent and expert naval knowledge. Of the passing topics of the month in France, the most absorbing was the terrible accident that occurred in the metropolitan or underground rapid-transit railroad of Paris, where, on the night of August 10, a collision of trains was immediately followed by a conflagration of the cars, with the result that about a hundred people lost their lives, chiefly from the fire, rather than from the violence of the collision. The cars on the Paris underground road are built of a highly inflammable kind of wood. The gentlemen who are to operate the new underground system in New York declare that their cars are to be practically non-combustible. Experience is the great teacher in such matters.

#### German Commercial Progress.

French commercial interests are desirous to take up again the attempt to negotiate a successful commercial and reciprocity treaty with the United States, and the same subject is under discussion in Germany. The most important of the German commercial treaties are to expire at the end of the present year, and now that the industrial



A SCENE AT A STATION OF THE PARIS UNDERGROUND RAILWAY.

elements have triumphed over the agrarians in the recent election, it is believed that a new policy toward the United States may be adopted that will be of mutual advantage,—the German manufacturers and workmen desiring to import larger quantities of provisions from this country, and hoping for a little more favorable chance to sell some of their wares here. The treaties of commerce that are about to expire are agreements entered into ten years ago with Russia, Austria, Holland, Belgium, Switzerland, and Italy, the Argentine Republic, and some

other countries. The treaty with Great Britain was brought to an end some time ago in accordance with the wishes of Canada, and the elements now dominant in Germany are hoping to bring about a new treaty that will not impair the great position that Germany has attained in the English market. German industry and enterprise go forward steadily, with determined application of scientific knowledge and methods. German production of iron and steel, though far behind that of the United States, has, in turn, left that of England hopelessly in the rear.



M. PELLETAN, FRENCH MINISTER OF MARINE, WITH M. TISSIER, HIS CHIEF ASSISTANT.

German textile industries are also making great progress, and it may interest our American producers to know that the German spinners and weavers are determined to diminish their dependence upon the United States as a source of supply for fiber. They are spending considerable sums of money upon experiments in cotton culture in the German colonies, particularly in Africa, where they are going about the matter with their characteristic intelligence of method. For every new acre properly planted in cotton in certain of their African colonies, the Germans are



paying a very large subsidy; and they guarantee to buy from the cotton-raisers all their product at stipulated prices, ranging from about six cents a pound for cotton raised from American seed to about nine cents a pound for cotton of the Egyptian variety. They are also promoting the increase of cotton-raising in Asia Minor, especially along the line of the German Bagdad Railway. While it will be a good many years before these efforts result in a sufficient production to afford any cause for concern to the American cotton-growers, they are indicative of the thrift and energy of Germany, and of the determination of the Germans to make economic utilization of their colonies. On the other hand, they are also notable as a part of the general movement for the exploitation of the tropical and sub-tropical portions of the earth by the energetic industrial peoples of the North Temperate Zone.

*Spain Declines to Buy a New Navy.* The Spaniards have settled down to a new ministry under Villaverde, who had been president of the Chamber of Deputies. The causes of the change of ministry are more interesting than the mere personalities. Silvela, the late premier, and Villaverde were the two most influential men in the Conservative party. One was prime minister and the other president of the Chamber. The Silvela ministry had, only a short time ago, a great majority of the members of Parliament nominally supporting it. The new situation has been brought about through conditions resulting from the war with the United States. We left Spain deprived of her West Indian possessions and of the Philippine archipelago, and we also left her without a navy worth mentioning. Before the war with the United States, she had ranked as a naval power of some consequence. The European naval experts, indeed, regarded Spain as a more important naval power than the United States. The question now is whether Spain shall incur the expense of building or buying a new navy, or whether by preference she shall concentrate her public expenditures upon railroads and various efforts for the internal development of her own backward home country. Señor Silvela believed that Spain ought to continue to have a place and a rank among the European nations, and that she ought to look forward to entering into close relations either with France or else with the Triple Alliance of Germany-Italy-Austria. But in either case he held that Spain could make no advantageous alliance unless she had something substantial to contribute to the arrangement. In his opinion, the possession of a few effective battleships and cruisers would do more than anything else to strength-

en Spain's international position. Furthermore, the Spaniards do not believe that Morocco can remain long under its present system of government, and they have always looked forward to acquiring control of that country for themselves. A navy, according to Silvela, would strengthen their position in that direction. His views would doubtless have prevailed, as against the



SEÑOR VILLVERDE.  
(The new Spanish premier.)

opposition of the Radical and Republican minority in the Parliament; but it happened that Villaverde disagreed with him and made a powerful speech against the movement for a strong navy. His followers, together with the anti-Conservative groups, were sufficient to upset the Silvela cabinet. For the present, therefore, the Spanish policy will be that of strict economy and internal improvement, as against a policy of military and naval growth.

*In Hungary and Servia.* There has been much difficulty in the attempt to reorganize the Hungarian cabinet, inasmuch as the new ministry of Count Hedervary failed to show strength or to secure from the Emperor an indorsement of its policies. After celebrating his seventy-sixth birthday at Vienna, the Emperor Francis-Joseph went to Budapest on Wednesday, August 18, to lend his influence to a smoothing out of the

Hungarian political tangle. In Servia, affairs have not gone on very smoothly for King Peter. There have been all sorts of reports of conspiracies and counter-conspiracies. Russian influence has evidently been opposing in the sternest way the recognition of men who were concerned in the assassination of the late king and queen. On the other hand, secret leagues of Servian officers are said to have been conspiring against Servian statesmen who were supposed to be standing in the way of the advancement of certain leaders in the late revolution. On August 14, it was announced that the Servian ministry had resigned as a result of army leagues and plots, and there was talk of the abdication of the King, who found himself practically a prisoner in the hands of the military party. On August 15, new ministers for war, finance, justice, and public instruction were appointed by way of a partial reconstruction of the cabinet, but the prospect was dismal in the extreme.

*In Switzerland  
and Holland.*

From the disturbed and unhappy states of the Balkan region it is pleasant to turn to the little republic of Switzerland, which goes steadily forward on its serene career of industry, intelligence, and virtue, and which celebrated last month the seven hundred and twelfth anniversary of its national life. Holland similarly maintains a tranquil career, and thrives according to her great deserts. She is occupying herself at present, among other things of less note, with the colossal project of increasing her territory by redeeming the Zuyder Zee. The work is to be done in sections, and will cost a vast sum; but the Dutch are engineers and financiers of the first order, and they have studied their project far more carefully than the French or the Americans have ever studied the engineering and financial aspects of the Panama Canal. It is truly a remarkable people that can redeem land from the sea at a cost of many hundreds of dollars per acre, and so utilize the area thus obtained as to make it pay interest upon the investment.

*Labor and  
Capital at  
Home.*

The labor contests that remained unsettled in the United States last month were concerned, not so much with specific disputes as to wages, hours, and the like, as with more fundamental questions as to the establishment of methods for getting at the settlement of disputes. The marked tendency is toward the adoption of voluntary arbitration, with a strong organization on both sides. In nearly all our cities, one now finds associations of employers better organized and conducted than in any former period. These

associations of men who employ labor are for the most part under the direction of competent and reasonable leaders, who thoroughly believe in high wages and improved conditions for workmen, and are willing to deal with trade-unions. But they are also determined to withstand dictation and tyranny from walking delegates, and to oppose a certain reckless spirit of "rule or ruin" that has of late very painfully characterized the American labor movement in many of its manifestations. The only thing that has prevented the complete adjustment of the trouble in New York that has for months produced a deadlock in the building trades has been the behavior of one leader of a very powerful union,—namely, that of the Housesmiths. This leader, Mr. Samuel J. Parks, is certainly a man of remarkable audacity and of gifts of leadership. The "housesmiths" are those iron-workers who put together the steel skeleton frames which are now used in the construction of all large buildings. There are many thousands of these workers in New York. They are closely organized, and Parks seems to have them under a sort of hypnotic control, in spite of the fact of his having been for some time under indictment on the charge of having extorted money from employers to prevent or to end strikes. His trial on these charges was proceeding when this number of the *Review* went to press. The New York employers in the building trades have worked out a scheme of arbitration which ought to be satisfactory.

*A Chicago  
Inquiry.*

In Chicago, where the Employers' Association is especially active, its corps of experts, after a careful study, has reported to it that the average cost of living has increased 15 per cent. during the past five years. The association has decided that wages ought to be correspondingly advanced in those trades and callings where the increase has not already been made. The Chicago association seems to think it has discovered a final test and standard by which to answer the question whether or not wages ought now or in the future to be either increased or lowered. This conclusion, however, involves several fallacies. In the first place, it rests upon the arbitrary assumption that wages, five years ago, were just what they ought to have been. In the second place, it assumes that the wage-earner is only entitled to enough increase, from time to time, to preserve his past standard of living unimpaired. It does not admit that he has a right to hope for an improvement of standards, and it seems to ignore the simple economic principle that wages,



CAUSE AND EFFECT.

(It was reported last month that there had been unprecedentedly large summer withdrawals of money from the savings-banks of our leading cities.)—From the *World* (New York).

in the end, are always determined by the value of the results of the efforts that the workman puts forth,—in other words, by the productivity of labor. Nevertheless, the methods of the Employers' Association of Chicago are useful and in the right spirit. The inquiry into changed costs of living is a valuable one, and it certainly has some bearing upon practical questions raised from time to time in wage disputes. The conciliation board in the anthracite region, created as the result of President Roosevelt's strike commission, has been facing a good many delicate and difficult problems, but it bids fair to be able to keep the peace and to vindicate the value of the method established for regulating

the relations between capital and labor in the coal mines. The Hon. Carroll D. Wright has been appointed umpire for the final settlement of questions where the Board of Conciliation fails to agree.

*Crops and Prosperity.*

The August crop report of the Government was less favorable than the July report as regards the volume of the wheat crop, the figures being reduced from 720,000,000 to 650,000,000. This, however, is a bountiful yield, and one to be thankful for,—the high prices being very satisfactory to Western farmers. The August estimate for corn, on the other hand, was better than had been ex-

pected, and the corn crop will, after all, probably fall short of that of 1902 by only 10 per cent. or thereabouts. Taking into account the other cereals, the hay crop and the pasturage, the fruit crop, and the potatoes and the lesser products of garden and farm, the season will have averaged a very good one indeed for the American tillers of the soil. The past year has been decidedly the greatest in our manufacturing history, and for the first time the total volume of our domestic exports has exceeded that of Great Britain or any other nation. It is only in Wall Street that the times have been bad. The stock-market slump of July continued well into August, although after the middle of the month a better condition set in, of a sort that made it seem that the worst was over. The Wall Street promoters and speculators had simply been the victims of their own excesses. Many of them had borrowed large sums of money for the sake of holding shares of stock that they expected to sell to the public at a profit. Not being able to do this, they were obliged to liquidate quickly, and thus they made sacrifice of their holdings. The average market price, which had been too high, was depressed until it became much too low. Then the conservative investing public began to come in quietly to steady the situation. It is the opinion of most wise men that this rather drastic experience has been a good thing for Wall Street itself, and an especially fortunate thing for the legitimate business of the country at large.

*Oyster Bay  
as a Center  
of Affairs.*

The President remained last month at his home on Long Island, where he was able to give close attention to public business, while at the same time obtaining needed recreation. In connection with its carefully arranged programme of maneuvers, the North Atlantic fleet visited Oyster Bay on August 16, where it was reviewed and inspected by President Roosevelt. The *Kearsarge*, which had attracted so much attention in European ports, had made a record run across the Atlantic to serve as flagship for Rear-Admiral Barker. The fleet made a splendid appearance, and called the country's attention again to the steady development of our navy. Many high officials visited Oyster Bay last month to consult the President about public affairs. He was also visited by the group of Senators who form the sub-committee on finance which has been spending the summer in an endeavor to draft a currency measure for early submission to Congress. This sub-committee consists of Senators Aldrich, Allison, Platt of Connecticut, and Spooner. It was reported that certain details of the project for a currency bill

had been referred by the sub-committee to Senator Allison, who, in turn, held a conference with the Hon. J. G. Cannon, who will be Speaker of the House of Representatives, and whose coöperation is therefore much desired. The country also learned last month that the extra session, instead of being called for November 9, would possibly be brought together in October, both for the purpose of the earlier disposition of the Cuban reciprocity treaty and also to secure a more prompt treatment of the currency problem. It is evident that there is such wide divergence of opinion on this question of making a better provision for a money-supply that will adapt itself automatically to the business needs of the country that it is not going to be easy to frame a bill that can be placed upon the statute books. There will, of course, be no difficulty in securing the adoption of the act of Congress which is necessary to enable the Cuban reciprocity treaty to go into effect. It will be remembered that this treaty was ratified by the Senate. But since it is virtually a revenue measure, it must, according to precedent, be accepted by the House of Representatives.

*Cuba and  
Her Soldier  
Claimants.*

Affairs of state go on in Cuba as well as could have been expected, and, happily, President Estrada Palma seems to have won the respect and confidence of all elements. The absorbing topic, of late, has been the payment of the claims of the army of liberation. Gen. Maximo Gomez, who is chair-



VACATION DAYS AT OYSTER BAY.  
From the Tribune (Minneapolis).



man of the commission to make a carefully revised list of the revolutionary soldiers entitled to receive back pay, has made his report. This contains about fifty-three thousand names. For more than half of the men so listed, the period of service for which pay is granted is fixed at two years and a half, and the rate of payment is at a dollar per day. General Gomez says that the proposed loan of \$35,000,000,—the proceeds of which were to be used for various other purposes besides the payment of the soldiers,—will not be half enough to meet the claims. The list of fifty-three thousand does not include a large number of civilian employees who served the provisional government and the army in one capacity or another, and who must also be allowed their back pay. Altogether, it will take, probably, \$60,000,000 to square the account. This would mean an average of not far from a thousand dollars to each man. At present, of course, Cuba has neither the credit nor the resources to provide any such sum. If the larger sum could be provided, its distribution throughout the island would be advantageous, and would do much to enable the people to reestablish homes, clear up farms, and begin a new economic life. But it would probably be wiser to adopt a fixed sum, say \$25,000,000 or \$30,000,000, raise it by a loan, and distribute it *pro rata* among the men on the army list, as a final settlement of all claims.

#### Cotton in Cuba.

The important experiments that our entomologists and agricultural experts are now making to find a way to deliver the cotton planter from that destructive insect pest known as the boll-weevil will, if successful, prove a boon to the island of Cuba. Great interest has been shown there lately in the possibilities of the island for the growth of a superior quality of cotton, and all reports are to the effect that nothing stands in the way of making Cuba an important cotton-growing region excepting the boll-weevil. The soil and climate seem especially adapted to cotton culture.

#### In the War Department.

Secretary Root is in England, where he will be detained for some weeks by his duties as a member of the Alaska boundary tribunal. His place at the head of the War Department is meanwhile filled by the new assistant secretary, Gen. Robert S. Oliver. The reports that Mr. Root would retire to private life soon after his return from England were received with much regret, in view of his distinguished services for years past at the head of the War Department, where he had much to do with the transitional government of Cuba and the administration of Porto Rico and



CUBA'S HARD PROBLEM.

THE SCHOOLBOY: "Say, teacher, can't you start with an easier one?"—From the *Evening Dispatch* (Columbus).

the Philippines. The retirement of General Miles took effect on August 8, and on the 15th, to quote the Associated Press dispatch, "the army passed under the control of a large body of officers of high rank known as the General Staff Corps, with Lieut.-Gen. S. B. M. Young at the head as chief of staff, and Maj.-Gen. Henry C. Corbin as adjutant-general and assistant chief of staff." General Young also gave notice of the relinquishment of the office of "general commanding the army," which had been held by General Miles, and by himself for a single week, and announced that he had assumed the duties of chief of staff.

#### More Officials "On the Make."

There have been additional indictments in connection with the Post-Office Department scandals, and a considerable number of dismissals from the service where neglect to report wrongdoing, and general laxity and impropriety of official conduct, has been chargeable rather than direct participation in the frauds. Meanwhile, a new field of administrative scandal has been opened up in connection with the conduct of United States officials in the Indian Territory. The charges have been put into shape by Mr. Bro-

sus, the agent and legal representative of the Indian Rights Association. It is alleged that officials whose duty it is to see that the Indians are protected in the matter of land allotments have themselves gone into a variety of money-making schemes in connection with the exploitation of Indian lands, and have thus morally disqualified themselves for faithful and vigilant attention to their duties. It is agreed that there is to be an investigation of the matter, and it is likely that this will be carried out by Mr. Jones, the Indian commissioner at Washington, under direction of Secretary Hitchcock. The Judiciary Department is also involved in the charges, and Attorney-General Knox will desire to go to the bottom of the affair. The bane of our public service at the present moment is the mania on the part of officials for seizing opportunities growing out of their public positions—not to steal public money, but to engage in money-making enterprises of one kind and another which are directly opposed to the conscientious performance of their public work. Most of these officials have not committed crimes for which they can be sent to the penitentiary, but they belong to a class of men who should be as rigorously hunted out of the public service as the thieves and defaulters.

*Ohio and  
Democratic  
Politics.*

Mayor Tom L. Johnson, of Cleveland, Ohio, has been the most interesting figure in Western politics during the past few weeks. Ohio is the only State of large political importance that is to elect a governor this fall. Mr. Johnson leads the Democratic party, and has been avowedly a willing candidate for the governorship, although the State is regarded as inevitably Republican this year. The Democratic convention was fixed for August 25. There has been a determined movement in Ohio for the conservative reorganization of the Democratic party; and Mr. Bryan has been prominent in the State, supporting Mr. Johnson and attacking the reorganizers. In one of his Ohio speeches, Mr. Bryan denounced ex-President Cleveland as a "bunco-steerer" for Wall Street. This seemed to amuse the country, and the suggestion was productive of an immense crop of funny cartoons, most of which, however, pointed their satire, not at Mr. Cleveland, but at Mr. Bryan. The fact is that Mr. Cleveland stands personally high in the opinion of the country, and cannot be hurt by epithets or ill-natured remarks. The important possibility involved in the Ohio campaign this fall is that of securing a Democratic legislature, which would prevent the return of Mr. Hanna to the Senate. While it is not likely that the Demo-

crats can get control of the Legislature, they have a much better chance to secure that result than to elect their candidate for governor. Judge Parker continues to be the man most talked about in the South and the West as a possible Democratic nominee for the Presidency, with Mr. Gorman, of Maryland, as a close second.



A TRIFLE LARGE,—ONLY CLEVELAND CAN FILL THEM.

From the *Brooklyn Eagle* (New York).

*In  
New York.*

The country is likely to take more interest in the municipal campaign in New York City this fall than in any pending State campaign, not excepting Ohio. It continues to be the accepted idea that Mayor Seth Low will again head the fusion ticket of the reformers and the Republicans, while nobody yet knows who will take the Tammany nomination. The State election in New York will be important chiefly for the fact that the people are to vote on the great question whether or not they will incur a debt of over a hundred million dollars to improve the State canal system.

*In  
the South.*

In the South, the race question has been brought into the season's politics to an extent hardly comprehensible elsewhere. A reactionary sentiment was visible in the primary elections held to decide the question who should be the next governor of Mississippi. But the forces working for the education and progress of all classes can only be temporarily checked. The enthusiasm for better schools has been shown in the unprecedented attendance at the teachers' institutes and special

summer gatherings for the training of those engaged in the work of instruction. The largest of these summer schools this year, as last, was the one held at Knoxville, Tenn., under the auspices of the State University. It was a magnificent success, and to those who were able to make personal inspection it proved a veritable inspiration. The teaching profession in the South is ardently awake to the need of a new kind of school adapted to promote the elements of civilization and industrial progress. It is a very poor and shortsighted kind of politician that would minimize the value of these efforts or seek to dampen such enthusiasm for the better training of Southern children.

*The Panama Question.*

The Latin-American topic of most importance last month was the announced rejection by the Colombian Congress at Bogota of the Hay-Herran treaty providing for the construction of the Panama Canal. Later reports, however, did not indicate that the negotiations between this country and Colombia were closed. It will be necessary for our government to await the adjournment of the Colombian Congress, and the formal and official diplomatic communications which will come to our State Department touching the position of the authorities at Bogota. Meanwhile, the American press has very frankly discussed the possibility of a revolution in the State of Panama which might permanently detach the Isthmus from its unfortunate and hampering connection with the remote and little-esteemed régime at Bogota that hardly deserves the name of a government. All the natural affiliations of the Isthmus are with the United States and Central and North America, rather than with South America; and it has been so for half a century.

*Mexico and Its Perennial President.*

The people of Mexico have fully determined to give President Porfirio Diaz another term in the presidency, and we publish elsewhere an interesting article on the subject from Prof. L. S. Rowe, of the University of Pennsylvania. Dr. Rowe was one of the American commissioners who revised the laws of Porto Rico, and he has been spending the summer in Mexico studying the working of the legal institutions of the country, and kindred subjects. Mexico still hopes for good results from the work of the commissioners who are endeavoring to find a way to establish a fixed rate of exchange between the silver-using and the gold-using countries. Meanwhile, the government is steadily promoting the industrial interests of the country, and was reported last

month as having acquired a block of stock in the Mexican Central Railway system, as part of a policy of ultimate governmental ownership of the railways.

*A School of Journalism.*

It was natural that a very large place in the newspaper discussion of last month should have been given to the remarkable gift of Mr. Joseph Pulitzer, proprietor of the New York *World*, of \$2,000,000 to Columbia University for the establishment of a school of journalism. There are now many thousands of workers engaged in the United States in the production of daily newspapers, and periodicals of weekly or monthly circulation. Mr. Pulitzer holds that these men should not only be well educated in a general sense, but that they should also have, in so far as possible, some training of a special or professional kind that would better fit them for the service that journalism ought to render to the great public. Unquestionably, we are governed in this country more and more by the newspapers. That is to say, we are dominated by public opinion, and—being a reading people—our public opinion is formed by the newspapers. Men of wisdom and experience are not in full agreement as to the extent to which journalism can be “professionalized,” so to speak, in such a way as to make it some what analogous to the law, medicine, and other special pursuits of a professional nature. This new department of Columbia must therefore be a pioneer enterprise and an experimental undertaking. But he would be a man of great temerity who would venture to predict that it cannot be made both useful and successful. The journalist does not study constitutional or international law with the same purpose or from the same standpoint as the student who is preparing himself to practise law. In like manner, the practical journalist, though needing a thorough and extensive training in economics, would naturally seek courses less theoretical than some of those prescribed in our universities for students who are pursuing post-graduate work with reference to the taking of doctors’ degrees. Apart from those things which constitute the subject-matter with which journalism most concerns itself, there are certain matters of a strictly technical and professional sort, such as the real nature of public news and the best way to gather, present, and distribute it; the law of libel; that large field which may be designated as the ethics of the public press; and so on. The School of Journalism at Columbia is to have a separate building and a good endowment. Mr. Pulitzer gives \$1,000,000 now, and promises another million in the near future.

## RECORD OF CURRENT EVENTS.

(From July 21 to August 20, 1903.)

## POLITICS AND GOVERNMENT—AMERICAN.

July 21.—An anti-barge canal convention held at Rochester, N. Y., recommends the defeat of the canal project at the polls.

July 22.—The bookbinders in the Government Printing Office at Washington threaten to strike if W. A. Miller, the assistant foreman, whose reinstatement is ordered by President Roosevelt, is permitted to return to work.

July 23.—President Roosevelt refuses to consider the charges made by the bookbinders' union against W. A. Miller, assistant foreman, whose reinstatement has been ordered.

July 25.—The Government Printing Office bookbinders decided not to strike because of the reinstatement of Assistant Foreman Miller.

July 30.—The joint army and navy general board holds its first meeting....Judge George Gray, of Delaware, accepts appointment as a member of the Alabama Coal Strike Commission.

August 1.—The suit brought by the State of Minnesota against the Northern Securities Company in the United States District Court is dismissed.

August 5.—Gen. S. B. M. Young is designated by President Roosevelt as commanding general of the army in the interval between the retirement of General Miles, on August 8, and the going into effect of the General Staff law, on August 15.

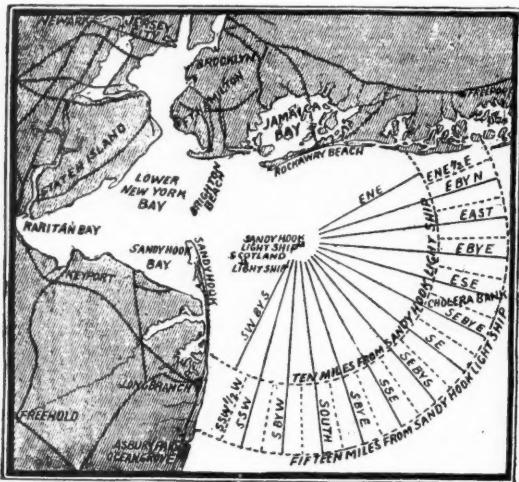
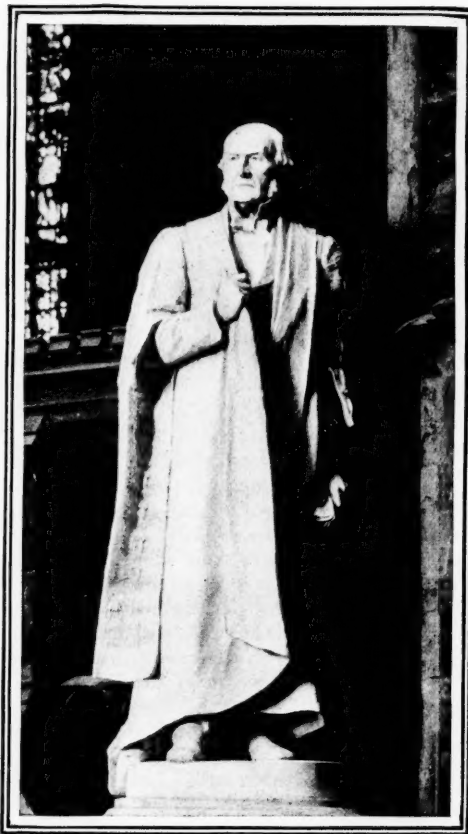


CHART SHOWING DIRECTION OF COURSES IN THE INTERNATIONAL YACHT RACES.

(The races are sailed over either a straightaway course, fifteen nautical miles from the lightship and return, or a triangular course, ten miles to a side.)



THE NEW STATUE OF WILLIAM E. GLADSTONE IN WESTMINSTER ABBEY.

August 7.—Lieut.-Gen. Nelson A. Miles issues an address to the army on the occasion of his retirement.

August 8.—Lieut.-Gen. S. B. M. Young assumes command of the army.

August 14.—Secretary of Agriculture Wilson directs that three cargoes of meat and wines from Germany be held at the port of New York pending analysis to ascertain fitness for entry under the new pure food laws.

August 15.—The new general staff of the army is organized at Washington.

August 18.—Nebraska Republicans declare in favor of the nomination of Theodore Roosevelt for President.

## POLITICS AND GOVERNMENT—FOREIGN.

July 21.—The Irish land bill passes third reading in the British House of Commons....The Duke of Marl-



borough is appointed Under Secretary of State for the British Colonies....The Tariff Reform League of Great Britain is inaugurated.

July 22.—The British House of Commons passes the third reading of the London education bill.

July 23.—In the Cape Parliament, Mr. Merriman brings forward a motion in favor of amnesty for those engaged in the late rebellion....The recommendation that the farm-owner shall receive four-tenths of the profits of a diamond mine is adopted by the Legislative Council at Johannesburg....The bill canceling the dynamite concession is passed at Pretoria.

July 27.—The debate on Mr. Merriman's amnesty motion is resumed in the Cape Legislative Assembly....The agreement between the Dominion government and the Grand Trunk Railway for the construction of a third transcontinental line through Canada is signed at Ottawa....Baron Stephen Burian is appointed minister of finance in Austria-Hungary in place of M. de Kállay.

July 28.—The federal budget is introduced in the Australian Commonwealth House of Representatives....A Home Rule convention at Honolulu starts a movement for Hawaiian independence....Mr. Balfour announces in the British House of Commons that a tariff bill will be introduced.

July 30.—In the Dominion Parliament, Sir Wilfrid Laurier introduces a bill for the construction of a national transcontinental railway....The customs amendment and tariff bill is read a third time in the Cape Parliament by the casting vote of the president....In the Hungarian Chamber, the government and the Liberal party gain their first victory over obstruction.

July 31.—Count Szapary confesses to having instigated the bribery in the Hungarian Parliament.

August 3.—It is found that about \$60,000,000 will be required to pay the Cuban revolutionary soldiers,—twice the amount of the pending loan for that purpose.

August 6.—The British House of Commons, by a vote of 119 to 57, passes the sugar convention bill to its third reading.

August 7.—The Irish land bill passes the committee stage in the British House of Lords without serious amendment....It is announced that King Edward has approved the appointment of Lord Northcote, now Governor of Bombay, as Governor-General of Australia, to succeed Lord Tennyson, resigned....Prominent Finns are expelled from their country by the Russian administration.

August 8.—The Hungarian cabinet resigns office.



THE LATE POPE LEO XIII.  
(From a recent sketch made at the Vatican.)

August 10.—The British House of Lords passes the sugar convention bill.

August 11.—The British House of Lords passes the third reading of the Irish land bill.

August 12.—The British Government's agreement with the Cunard Line is approved by the House of Commons.

August 13.—The Chilean ministry resigns office....The Russian Government makes Vice-Admiral Alexieff viceroy of the far East, taking in the Amur region and the Kwangtung Province.

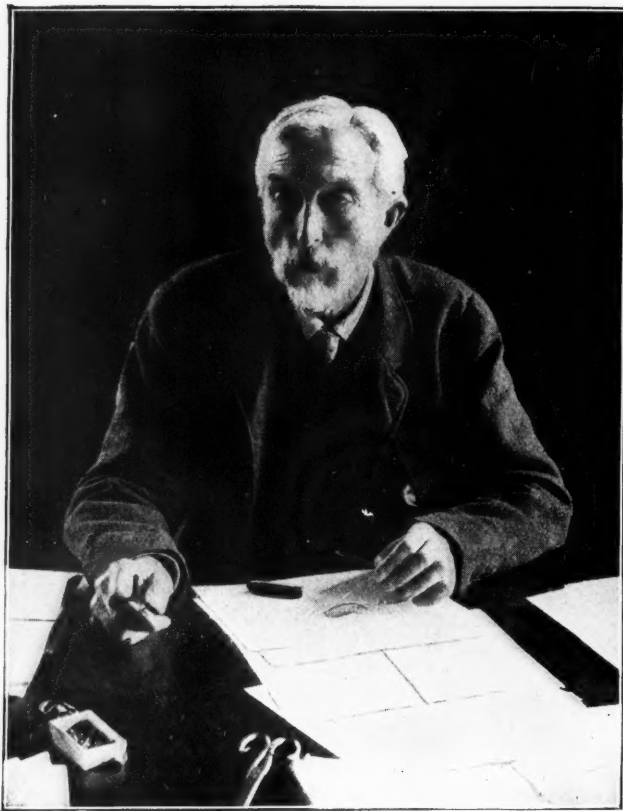
August 14.—The British Parliament is prorogued.

August 15.—Three ministers are chosen to fill places made vacant by resignations from the Servian cabinet.

#### INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS.

July 21.—French delegates arrive in London to confer with members of the British House of Commons on the question of international arbitration.

July 22.—The Chinese-American treaty negotiations are reopened by Chang Chih-tung.



CHARLES BOOTH.

(Author of the monumental work, "Life and Labour in London," the concluding volume of which has just been published, and is reviewed on pages 331-334 of this number.)

July 23.—The American and Mexican monetary commissions in Europe reach an agreement in regard to trade with China on a gold basis with silver circulation.

July 25.—An exchange of notes with regard to the regulation of Anglo-German commercial relations begins between London and Berlin.

July 28.—Ratifications of the Anglo-Chinese commercial treaty are exchanged at Peking. . . . Russia informs the United States of her intention to reduce by two-thirds the offices in this country where passports to Russia have been viséd.

July 31.—France decides not to lower the duties on meat unless compensation is made by a change in the United States tariff.

August 5.—Great Britain instructs her minister in China not to accede to China's demand for jurisdiction over the staff of a Chinese reform journal at Shanghai.

August 7.—Four battalions of Turkish troops are reported to have routed 1,700 Bulgarians near Sorovitch.

August 8.—The Russian consul at Monastir is murdered by a Turkish soldier.

August 10.—The Macedonian Committee at Belgrade issues a statement to the powers.

August 12.—The Colombian Senate rejects the treaty with the United States for the Panama Canal.

August 15.—Russian warships are ordered from the Black Sea to Turkish waters.

August 16.—Bulgaria sends to the powers a statement of the outrages committed by the Turkish Government in Macedonia in the past three months.

August 18.—The Czar of Russia names M. Mouravieff, Russian minister of justice; M. Lardy, Swiss minister to Paris, and Professor Matzen, of the University of Copenhagen,—all members of the Hague Court of Arbitration,—to hear the cases between Venezuela and the blockading powers.

#### THE PAPAL SUCCESSION.

July 21.—Cardinal Oreglia, in the presence of the other cardinals in Rome, officially proclaims the death of Pope Leo XIII.; the cardinals meet and appoint Mgr. Merry del Val temporary secretary of the Consistorial Congregation.

July 22.—The body of Leo XIII. is removed to St. Peter's.

July 23.—The body of Leo XIII. lies in state in St. Peter's and is viewed by thousands of people.

July 25.—Leo XIII. is buried in St. Peter's.

July 31.—The cardinals are locked within the apartments at the Vatican prepared for the Conclave.

August 1-3.—Two ballots for Pope are taken each day by the Conclave without result.

August 4.—The seventh ballot of the Conclave results in the election of Giuseppe Sarto, Patriarch of Venice, to succeed Leo XIII. as Pope; he takes the name of Pius X. (see page 191).

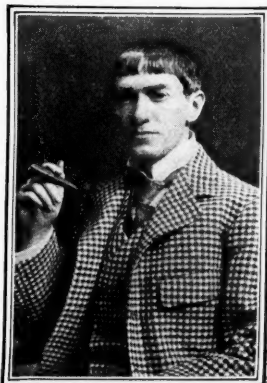
August 5.—It is announced that Cardinal Oreglia has been appointed Camerlengo.

August 9.—Pius X. is crowned Pope in St. Peter's, in the presence of 70,000 people.

#### OTHER OCCURRENCES OF THE MONTH.

July 22.—A general strike, involving 40,000 persons, is declared at Baku, Russia.

July 23.—The battleship *King Edward VII.*, said to be the largest in the world, is launched at Devonport, England. . . . The



THE LATE PHIL MAY.

United States cruiser *Galveston* is launched at Richmond, Va.

July 24.—There is a serious decline of stocks in Wall Street, and two failures are announced.

July 25.—The Turkish cruiser *Medjidia* is launched at the Cramp yards.

July 27.—In a railway accident near Glasgow, Scotland, fifteen persons are killed and more than thirty injured....Thirteen prisoners escape from the California penitentiary at Folsom, killing a guard and wounding two officers....Seven hundred persons are drowned by the flood at Chefu, China.

July 29.—By the explosion of two powder magazines near Lowell, Mass., more than twenty persons are killed and fifty injured.

August 4.—The International Wireless Telegraphy Congress is opened at Berlin, Germany....Charles M. Schwab resigns the presidency of the United States Steel Corporation and is succeeded by W. E. Corey (see page 340).

August 5.—Andrew Carnegie makes a gift of \$2,500,000 to Dunfermline, Scotland, his native town.

August 9.—Italian anarchists make an assault on M. Combes, the French premier.

August 10.—More than one hundred persons are killed by the burning of an electric train in the tunnel of the underground railway in Paris.

August 11.—A hurricane passing over Jamaica destroys fifty lives and \$15,000,000 worth of property.

August 15.—It is announced that Joseph Pulitzer has given \$2,000,000 to found a school of journalism in connection with Columbia University, New York City.

August 17.—A grand review of United States battleships and cruisers is held on Long Island Sound, off the entrance to Oyster Bay, President Roosevelt's summer home.

August 19.—Dan Patch paces a mile in 1 minute and 59 seconds, lowering the world's harness record.

August 20.—The Grand Army of the Republic, in annual encampment at San Francisco, elects Gen. John C. Black, of Illinois, commander-in-chief.

#### OBITUARY.

July 22.—Gen. Cassius Marcellus Clay, of Kentucky, ex-United States minister to Russia and an eminent anti-slavery leader, 93....Francis Marion Wells, the sculptor, 55.

July 23.—Frederick W. Holls, member of the International Court at The Hague, 46 (see page 302).... Benjamin L. Farjeon, the English novelist, 70.

July 24.—Rev. Dr. E. Walpole Warren, of New York, 64.... Ex-Congressman Ellery A. Hibbard, of New Hampshire, 77.

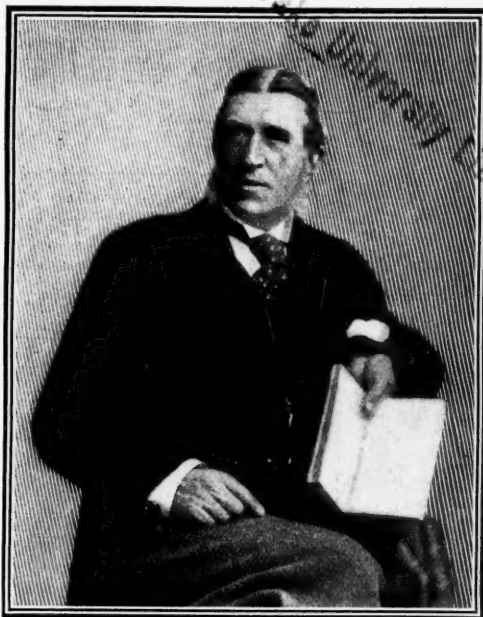
July 25.—Ex-Congressman John M. Clancy, of Brooklyn, N. Y., 66.

July 26.—Sir John Rigby, formerly Lord Justice of British Appeal, 69.... Representative Robert H. Foerderer, of the fourth Pennsylvania district, 43.

July 27.—President Frederick J. Kimball, of the Norfolk & Western Railway Company, 49.... Mr. Donald Nicol, M.P., 59.

July 28.—John G. Long, United States consul-general at Cairo, 57.

July 30.—A. B. Youngson, successor to P. M. Arthur



THE LATE WILLIAM E. DODGE.

(Mr. Dodge, who died at Bar Harbor on August 9, represented the very highest type of American merchant-philanthropist. Like his father before him, he had been identified with innumerable religious and charitable enterprises in New York, and to each one he had given, not merely his money, but his personal service and intelligent interest. For seventy years the father and son had been active in the public life of city, State, and nation.)

as grand chief of the Brotherhood of Locomotive Engineers, 54.

August 1.—Dr. Hamilton L. Smith, formerly professor at Hobart College, Geneva, N. Y., 85.... Rev. George M. Vanderlip, author and journalist, 71.

August 3.—Mrs. Jane Margaret Davenport Lander, a distinguished actress, 54.

August 4.—John Doerhoefer, tobacco manufacturer of Louisville, Ky., 54.

August 5.—Phil May, the English artist and illustrator, 39.

August 9.—William E. Dodge, of New York, the well-known merchant-philanthropist, 71.... Onno Klott, the Austrian historian, 81.

August 10.—Gen. E. E. Bryant, of Wisconsin, 68.

August 12.—Albert E. K. G. von Levetzow, formerly president of the German Reichstag, 75.

August 13.—Dr. William S. Playfair, the noted English specialist in women's diseases, 67.

August 14.—Dan Parmelee Eels, a well-known capitalist of Cleveland, Ohio, 78.

August 16.—Noah Brooks, the well-known author and journalist, 73.

August 19.—Prof. Friedrich Dieterich, of Berlin, an authority on the grammar, literature, and philosophy of the Arabs, 82.

SOME GERMAN AND OTHER CARTOONS OF THE  
MONTH.



THEODORE ROOSEVELT, PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES.

From *Kladderadatsch* (Berlin).



THE German cartoonists have of late been paying their compliments to the United States with an unwonted frequency, and it may interest our readers to see reproductions of a few of their latest efforts. The most noticeable, naturally, will be *Kladderadatsch's* portrait of President Roosevelt, on the opposite page. Americans must not be offended at this German caricature of our strenuous President, for our own press has



THE KIEL FESTIVITIES.—A GERMAN VIEW.  
From *Lustige Blätter* (Berlin).



WHAT WE MAY EXPECT IN THE YEAR OF GRACE 1920!  
(The streets of Berlin are no longer cleared for empty court carriages, but for Uncle Sam, who rides through them on his golden calf!)

From *Kladderadatsch* (Berlin).

published hundreds of caricatures of the strenuous German Emperor of an even more exaggerated sort.

There is some well-pointed satire in the cartoon of Uncle Sam riding his golden calf down the main street of Berlin to the obscuring of the royal equipages, in view of the way in which a certain type of the American millionaire has been splurging in Germany during the past season.



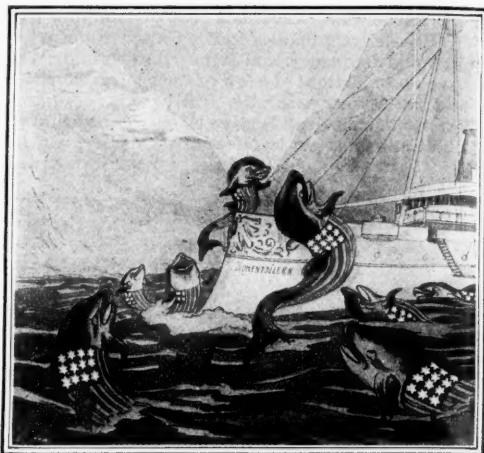
THE GREAT POWERS: "Help! help! this huge fellow will smother us all!"  
From *Der Wahre Jacob* (Stuttgart).



LOCKED OUT.

Russia's policy of the "open door" in the far East.  
From *Kladderadatsch* (Berlin).

On this page will be found an amusing cartoon from still another German weekly—*Ulk*—with a similar motive. It calls attention to the remarkable swarm of the American type of dolphin on the Norwegian coast, this past summer, observed in the immediate proximity of the royal yacht *Hohenzollern*. The reference, of



DELPHINUS AMERICANUS (AMERICAN DOLPHIN).

These interesting creatures are visible in unprecedented numbers, this year, on the Norwegian coast.

From *Ulk* (Berlin).



THE MORGAN SHIPPING TRUST COLLAPSE.

The old Morgan Duck, which has hatched out a beautiful brood of chickens, tries to call back her offspring to the water.—From *Kladderadatsch* (Berlin).

IT IS GOOD TO SHOOT WHEN FAR AWAY.

\* Ferdinand, with a good conscience, is, as usual, when anything is wrong at home, staying in a foreign land.

From *Kladderadatsch* (Berlin).



THE END OF THE SHIPPING TRUST.

MORGAN: "Goddam! Scarcely is the beautiful ring finished than it has snapped."

From *Lustige Blätter* (Berlin).



NOTHING BUT MERRY-MAKING!

Folleville-Loubet and Lamourette-Edward in London embrace each other from morning till night. When you're *en fête* you think no evil, so all's for the best. *Très-bien!* Nothing but merry-making!

From *La Silhouette* (Paris).



EDWARD VII.: "Well, didn't I tell you so? Chamberlain wishes you nothing but good."

THE PRESIDENT: "That's just what makes me uneasy."

From *Le Rire* (Paris).



THE WOOING STAGE.

FREE TRADE: "I have no wish to change my name."

From *Gilchrist's Advertiser* (Johannesburg).



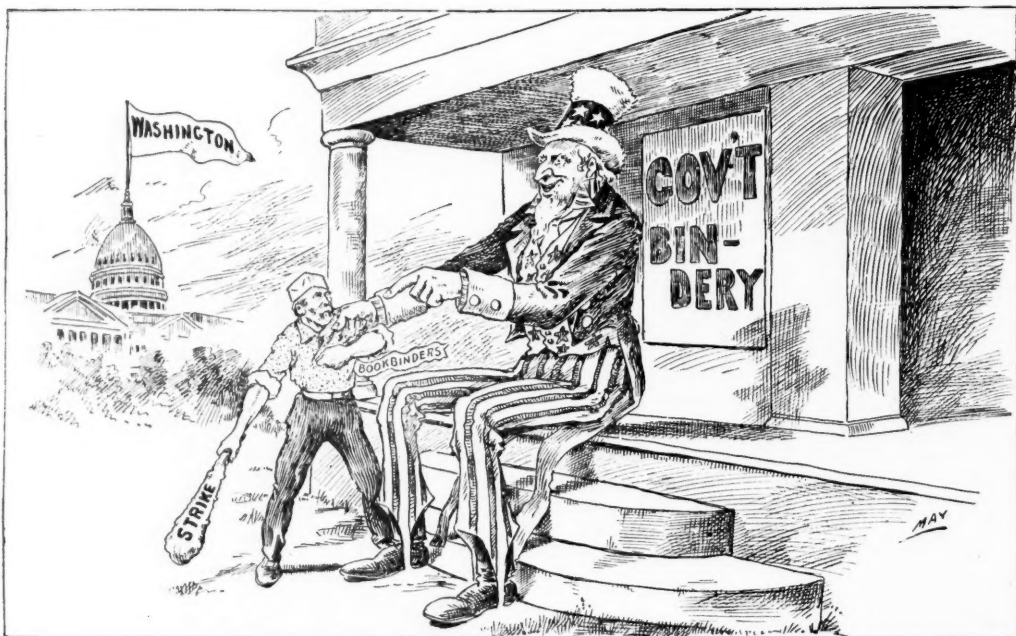
THE LION'S KEEPER: "To be sure, we object to foreigners feeding the animal, but you may throw him any little thing you have about you."

From the *Bulletin* (Sydney).

TIED UP.—From the *World* (New York).

course, is to the way certain rich Americans, with their yachts, were regarded in Germany as having followed the Emperor on his Norwegian cruise for the express purpose of receiving attentions from him. The German press has not shrunk from criticising the Emperor for failing to understand that certain American millionaires are not accounted here at home as distinguished representatives of their country.

Mr. Bush, of the *New York World*, has drawn some strong cartoons during the past month, several of which we reproduce from his original drawings in the present number of the *REVIEW*. On the opposite page is his tribute to General Miles, on the occasion of his retirement, after more than forty years of service in the United States army. We reproduce on this page one of his symbolical cartoons expressing the view that lynch law flourishes because justice is restrained through the tedious processes of criminal law. This cartoon well illustrates the views so vigor-

UNCLE SAM: "Before you declare war, my son, just look up my fighting record."—From the *Journal* (Detroit).



ously expressed last month by Justice Brewer, of the Supreme Court, who argues that there should be no appeals granted in criminal cases.

At the bottom of the opposite page is an interesting cartoon which refers to the attempt of the bookbinders' union in Washington to dictate to the Government regarding the retention in the Government Printing Office of a certain non-union employee. President Roosevelt pointed out with great force the obvious fact that the Constitution and laws of the United States cannot be waived out of deference to the rules and by-laws of a trade-union.

Mr. Rehse, of the *Pioneer Press*, has drawn an ingenious cartoon, reproduced herewith, to illustrate the idea of an elastic currency. When the country is moving its crops there is a great demand for ready cash, which ought to be met by a more flexible financial system than we now possess. Mr. Rehse also, in his own way, calls attention to the law's delays, which give excuse for lynching.



HIS FIRST SURRENDER!—From the *World* (New York).



WHY NOT GIVE JUSTICE A SWIFTER TEAM?

From the *Pioneer Press* (St. Paul).



PRESIDENT ROOSEVELT: "You see, those galluses ought to have rubber in them, so that when Uncle Sam stoops to move the sheaf there won't be much strain on the buttons."

From the *Pioneer Press* (St. Paul).



"SHOULD AULD ACQUAINTANCE BE FORGOT?"—From the *Ohio State Journal* (Columbus).



UNCLE SAM: "Say, Panama, you are henpecked. The only way you can deliver the goods to me is to get a divorce."  
From the *Pioneer Press* (St. Paul).



ON COMMON GROUND.  
From the *Ohio State Journal* (Columbus).

## THE NEW POPE—A CHARACTER SKETCH.

BY W. T. STEAD.

PIUS X. sits on the throne of Leo XIII., and all the world is asking what manner of man is he who has been elected by the vote of his peers to the loftiest position in Christendom. "Art thou for us or for our adversaries?" is the challenge which all the leaders of the progressive forces of the world address to the new occupant of the Papal See. Whether it is the German Socialist, the French Freethinker, or the Liberal leaders in Britain and the United States, the challenge is ever the same. With right hand on sword-hilt, they stand confronting the prelate who, from being a mere Italian patriarch, has suddenly flashed upon the world as "Pontifex Maximus, Sacerdos Magnus." Yet it is in no spirit of inveterate hostility that the question is asked, for even the most Protestant of Protestants and the most anti-clerical of Freethinkers would rejoice if, from his palace-prison in the Vatican, the new Pontiff were to answer, as did the angel of Joshua, "Nay, but as the Captain of the host of the Lord am I now come."

For the moment, there is no definite response to the challenge of the world, and the ear is filled with conflicting rumors. One day, telegrams assure us that the new Pope is the most uncompromising of the "blacks," who adopted the name of Pius in order to emphasize his entire acceptance of the absolute *non-possumus* of Pio Nono, while, on the other hand, we are assured that the King of Italy is delighted with his election, and that we may confidently look forward to a *rapprochement* between the Vatican and the Quirinal. Still more important and bewildering were the conflicting reports as to his attitude in relation to the Christian Democratic movement from which so much is hoped by the Liberal Catholics of Italy and elsewhere. At first it was regarded as the one fixed point about him that he was a Catholic Socialist of Cardinal Manning's type; but hardly have we made up our minds to accept this version than a Clerical organ in Rome declares that he is the resolute opponent of a Christian democracy. The same conflict of evidence prevails as to the significance of his election. One day we are told that his majority over Cardinal Rampolla represents the ascendancy of the Triple Alliance, which through Austria imposed its veto upon the election of Cardinal Rampolla. No sooner has this version obtained acceptance than we are assured

with equal emphasis that the selection of Sarto was the equivalent to a defiance of the Triple Alliance; that Sarto, if he did not exactly represent the Italian Irredenta, nevertheless represented that portion of Italy which was in the most violent opposition to Austria.

### AN IMPRESSIVE ELECTION.

We may, however, dismiss all these conflicting stories,—pairing one off against the other, the result is zero,—and endeavor with such material as is available to picture to ourselves the new figure, stately and commanding, which has emerged from comparative obscurity and is now seated on the loftiest throne in the center of a halo or aureole formed by the traditional glories of two thousand years.

There was something peculiarly impressive in the reports which appeared of the ancient and stately ceremonial by which, in accordance with an immemorial usage, the latest successor of St. Peter was chosen to wear the triple crown. It is on such occasions that the Roman Church is enabled to make that appeal to the imaginations of mankind to which humanity, both civilized and uncivilized, has ever made ready response. The walling up of the Conclave in which the sixty-two cardinals and princes of the Church were voluntarily imprisoned, shut off from all influences of the outer world, in order that they might devote themselves to the solemn task of electing the vicergerent of the Almighty, powerfully impressed even the least reflective and most indifferent of men. Of course, there are the usual sneers at the intrigues of the wire-pullers of the Vatican, but it is not well to scrutinize too closely the machinery by which the effects are produced. No one can deny that the whole proceedings were characterized by a dignity worthy of the occasion. After all, one need not be a Roman Catholic to appreciate the way in which a great function has been observed. The Catholic Church is one of the assets of humanity, and it is satisfactory to find that in the ease and dignity, the splendor and efficiency, of its work it shows no sign of being impaired by age. Neither can it be denied that if we judge the Conclave as any other human institution devised by mankind for the purpose of attaining a given result, it has vindicated itself by the election of Pius X. Infallibility



POPE PIUS X.



does not reside in conclaves, and cardinals, like other men, may make mistakes; but neither a Republican nor a Democratic convention in America, meeting together for the choice of a Presidential candidate, could have shown more good sense or a truer instinct, or held a freer election, than did the cardinals who were walled up in the Conclave.

There were sixty-two of them,—old men, for the most part, and an immense majority natives of Italy. Among these, some French, Austrian, German, Polish, Spanish, Portuguese, and Belgians were all represented. The only English-speaking man among them was Cardinal Gibbons. It is rather significant that no British subject was present in the Conclave, and that the only representative of the English-speaking race who took part—and a leading part—in the election of Pius X. was Cardinal Gibbons, the Archbishop of Baltimore. Since the Hague Conference broke up, four years ago, there has been no international assembly which so much deserved to be regarded as representative of the world as the electoral college at Rome, for the constituents of the great electors of the red-hatted princes of the Church are scattered over the whole world, and divided up into the twelve hundred bishoprics into which the world is mapped out by the successor of the Fisherman.

#### RAMPOLLA'S STRENGTH AT THE POLL.

The great surprise of the Conclave to the outside world, and also to many who believed themselves to be of the inner council of the Roman Catholic Church, was the extraordinary strength of Cardinal Rampolla. It has been regarded, hitherto, as part of the unwritten law of the Church that the secretary of state of one Pope is never allowed to succeed directly to the Papal chair. Cardinal Rampolla, for a long time, had held that high office, and had directed the foreign policy of Leo XIII. It was my good fortune, on two occasions, to have lengthy interviews with the great cardinal. He is a southern Italian,—a Sicilian,—adroit, subtle, a diplomatist to his finger-tips, quick to flatter and ready to seize and take advantage of all openings in debate or discussion. It was known for some time past that he had entertained the hope that some time he might become Pope; but no one was prepared to find his name heading the poll the first four votes of the Conclave, nor to see that in the fourth ballot he came within three votes of obtaining an absolute majority of the Conclave. That he did not succeed in carrying the election is popularly attributed to the direct intervention of the representatives of Germany and Austria, who, despite the denials which emanate from

Vienna, are said to have intimated that they objected to the election of Cardinal Rampolla on account of his notorious leanings toward France. Austria, in old times, was one of the Catholic powers which had a right of veto upon the appointment of any candidate who, in the opinion of the Austrian Emperor, was unfit to sit in the chair of St. Peter; but the use of the veto has fallen into desuetude of late years, and it seems somewhat of an anachronism since the Pope ceased to be a temporal sovereign. At the same time, although the Pope may still be a prisoner at the Vatican, he is more potent in European politics than he was in the days when he was permitted to misrule the states of the Church.

#### THE CONCLAVE TURNS TO SARTO.

There seems to be no doubt that the intimation of the Austrian Emperor carried great weight with the Conclave. The cardinals protested that they would take no account of the prohibition, and treated the intimation as an infringement of their independence. Cardinal Rampolla himself, while declaring that he would on no account accept the burden of the Pontificate, which he believed himself to be incapable of bearing, strongly protested against the undue interference of Austria; but it was not until after this intimation that the choice of Sarto became a certainty. In the first two ballots, Sarto had not even been second in the running. In the first, he had five votes; in the second, ten; in the third, twenty-one; in the fourth, twenty-four; in the fifth, he headed the poll with twenty-seven, and on Monday evening he secured a majority of the whole Conclave of thirty-five. I say "secured," but this expression must not be held to imply that Cardinal Sarto in any way sought election. The evidence is tolerably conclusive on the point that, despite his having been, according to popular report, first singled out by Leo XIII. as his successor, he had no ambition to become Pope. When he left Venice he mildly expostulated with those of his friends who came to bid him farewell, declaring that he would soon be back again, as he had taken a return ticket. It appears, says the London *Times* correspondent at Rome, that the most strenuous opponent of the election of Pius X. was Cardinal Sarto himself. When the ballots began to turn in his favor he was filled with a most unfeigned dismay. On Monday morning he broke down altogether, and implored the cardinals to find some other candidate, as he neither could nor would accept the tiara. It needed the most urgent insistence on the part of Cardinal Ferrara before he could be induced to say that he would not make the *gran rifiuto*.

But even then he seemed a broken man until the moment when he went out to deliver the public benediction. When, after his election, Cardinal Rampolla came to kiss his hand, the newly elected Pontiff clasped his late rival in the Conclave to his breast and addressed him with great emotion, while tears streamed down the cheeks of both. Despite his reluctance, however, he was elected on the final ballot by fifty votes, ten times as many as those with which he started, while ten remained faithful to the end to Cardinal Rampolla, and two to Cardinal Gotti. After the final ballot nothing remained to be done but for the Pope to be presented to the people in the ancient, time-honored formula: "Annuntio vobis gaudium magnum; habemus Pontificem eminentissimum Cardinalem Josephum Sarto, qui sibi nomen imposuit Pium Decimum."

#### A PEASANT PONTIFF.

And what kind of man is he whom we have as Pope? Those who caught the first glimpse of the tall white figure who faced the cheering crowd in the first hour after his election report that the features of the new Pontiff gave them the impression of a tall and decidedly pleasant and good-looking face. Few cardinals were so little known as he in Rome. According to Raffaele di Cesare, the historian of the Conclave of 1878, Cardinal Sarto had come to Rome as little as possible, and stayed there as short a time as possible. His whole career had been passed outside Rome, but entirely inside Italy. His predecessor had been Nuncio in Belgium, had traveled much, and was familiar with courts and cabinets long before he became Pope. Cardinal Sarto, as he pathetically reminded the cardinals of the Conclave, had never strayed beyond his parish or his diocese. He does not speak any language, not even his own, with ease. His Italian is mixed with a Venetian patois; his German is as imperfect as his French; of English, he knows nothing. Di Cesare, whom I have already quoted, declares that in breadth of education he is one of the most respected members of the Sacred College. His learning, however, will conduce less to his popularity with mankind at large than the more genial traits which render him kin to all of us. He is a peasant, and the son of a peasant; his sisters, who kept his house when he was Bishop of Mantua and Patriarch of Venice, still wear the peasants' costume familiar to the Western world on the shoulders of the humble organ-grinders. He is the first Pope for a century and a half who is of plebeian origin. Leo XIII., like Pius IX., sprang from a noble family. Sarto sprang

as much from the common people as Abraham Lincoln himself. His brother is an innkeeper in Mantua. One of his sisters married a tobacconist and the other a sacristan of the church in which the present Pope had officiated for ten years as parish priest. His manner of life is frugal, nor did he, when prince of the Church, forsake the simplicity which was natural to a peasant; but although of the common people, he is one of Nature's gentlemen, and among the few books that have been mentioned as proceeding from his pen is a "Manual of Politeness" which he wrote for the benefit of his parish clergy. The papers abound with stories of his geniality and humor. Unlike many of his brothers, he does not disdain the use of tobacco; he is passionately fond of music, and is himself a musician who, with the aid of Perosi, may be expected to effect considerable revival of church music.

They say of him, also, that he is the devoted son of an affectionate mother, and that he liked nothing so much, when his administrative duties were over at Venice, as to sit down with three cronies (who were often members of the Venetian municipality) to a four-cornered card-game *tresette*, at which he would recuperate his energies, his old mother the while sitting with her needlework in a corner of the room, enjoying the merry talk of her distinguished son. Of the many personal descriptions which have come to hand, all seem to speak of his splendid presence, his handsome face, his bright and merry eye, and the rippling humor which plays around his lips. He is a tremendous worker, keeps his clergy in good order, and was distinctly a rigid disciplinarian.

#### A MODEL PRIEST AND BISHOP.

Joseph Sarto, who will be known in history as Pius X., was born at Riese, in the Venetian province of Treviso, on June 2, 1835. Being a promising scholar, he was sent from the village school to the college at Castel Franco, whence he passed to the central seminary at Padua, where he graduated with much distinction and was ordained priest in the cathedral of Castel Franco on September 18, 1858. He was then twenty-three years of age. Until he was thirty-one, he was employed as country curate. When he was thirty-two, he was appointed parish priest. Eight years later, the Bishop of Treviso, recognizing his ability, made him not only a canon of the cathedral and chancellor of the diocese, but the spiritual director of the college. From these posts he passed by an easy transition to be dean of the chapter, and after serving in an interregnum as vicar-

general was appointed suffragan by the new bishop. His eloquence, his piety, his energy, marked him out for further promotion, and in 1884 he became Bishop of Mantua. There was a hitch about his appointment. The Mantuans claimed that they ought to have been consulted as to his nomination, but the ecclesiastical authorities prevailed, and as soon as Sarto had established himself in the episcopal palace at Mantua he disarmed all opposition by his winning tact, his urbanity, and his kindly humor.

As he had been a model parish priest, so at Mantua he became a model bishop. His diocese came to be regarded as a standard up to which other bishops were exhorted to bring theirs. After nine years, Leo made him a cardinal, and almost immediately afterward created him Patriarch of Venice. In the hierarchy of the Church of Rome, a patriarch is higher than an archbishop. At the head of all stands the Pope; then come the patriarchs, of whom there are three,—the Patriarch of the Indies, the Patriarch of Lisbon, and the Patriarch of Venice. Under the patriarch comes the primate, and then after the primate, archbishops, bishops, and suffragans. As Sarto's nomination to the Bishopric of Mantua was contested by the Mantuans on the ground that they had not been consulted, his appointment to the Patriarchate of Venice was opposed by the Italian Government on similar grounds. It was only when the historians and antiquarians had been able to demonstrate that the Patriarchate of Venice was antecedent to the ancient Republic of Venice, which had only enjoyed the right of nomination as a temporary privilege which it could not bequeath to its successor, the Kingdom of Italy, that the Italian Government gave way, and Sarto was free to achieve as great a success in Venice as he had already won in Mantua.

#### INTEREST IN SOCIAL PROBLEMS.

His task was not an easy one. In 1894, there was considerable anticlerical agitation going on in Italy, of which Venice was the hotbed. The bishop, however, was not long in rallying round the patriarchal throne men of all classes in Venice, especially those among whom the revolutionary atheists had made their chief propaganda. According to all the accounts which reached this country since the election, he promises to be a kind of Italian Cardinal Manning. Living in homely style, meeting and putting on a footing of perfect equality men of all ranks, he was soon recognized as a much more genuine and earnest democrat than most of the Liberal leaders. A correspondent says:

He took an almost passionate interest in social questions, and threw himself heart and soul into all enterprises for the amelioration of the lot of the very poor. He lent his aid to the institution of rural banks, co-operative societies, benevolent associations,—to any scheme, in fact, for the improvement of the condition of the working classes. He did not even fear to come forward himself in person in disputes between capital and labor, and it was, thanks to his good offices, that a serious strike of cigarmakers in Venice was brought to a satisfactory conclusion. And at the same time he succeeded in so winning the confidence of the official world that no word has ever been said against the influence which he exercised upon the people at large. His great aim, the object which he had most at heart, was to make Venice a religious city. How far he succeeded it is difficult to say, but at least he had all the semblance of success, and in the battle which he fought with the Socialists on their own ground he was not worsted.

#### RELATIONS WITH THE STATE.

Whatever may be his views as to the great feud on which are divided the occupants of the Quirinal and those of the Vatican, there is no question as to the tact and good-feeling which he has displayed in his relations with the Italian authorities at Venice. The Italian Government at Venice is, of course, a very different thing in the eyes of the Vatican from the Italian King in Rome. Nevertheless, the fact that he was prompt to wait upon the Italian King on his visit to Venice is remembered in his favor, even by those who note with some alarm the fact that he did not notify his election to the King of Italy, and that therefore all state officials were forbidden to take any part in the popular rejoicings which invariably accompany the election of a new Pope in Italy. When the King of Italy visited Venice, the patriarch simply took his place in the antechamber with the rest of the public. When the King sent him an apology for keeping him waiting, he replied that he had no wish except to take his turn in audience with the others who had come for the same purpose. The significance of this action on his part was emphasized by the report current in those days that Cardinal Rampolla had given him a free hint that he could not do honor to the usurper. If such a hint were given, it fell upon deaf ears. Cardinal Sarto not only visited the King, but took part with the Italian Minister of Public Instruction in the ceremony when the foundation stone of the new Campanile was laid, last April.

#### SIMPLICITY OF LIFE.

It must be admitted that his record is wholly in his favor. All who know him speak warmly of his sincerity, his generosity, and his sympathy with the people. He was a Rosminian, but he was too obedient a son of the Church to

refuse to submit when Leo XIII. condemned some forty propositions of Rosmini. Once a Rosminian, however, always a Rosminian, and the Jesuits naturally looked somewhat askance at the advent of Cardinal Sarto to the supreme place in the Catholic Church. They have, however, ways and means of their own for reducing recalcitrant Popes to obedience, and they envisage the situation with considerable fortitude.

Cardinal Sarto is said to be no politician in the ordinary sense of the word, but if politics consist in the application of common sense to the management of human affairs, he seems to have displayed no little political ability in past years. He is a good man, all are agreed, and the report is persistent that the late Pope told him, shortly before his death, that he would succeed him as Pope, and that he felt sure the interests of the Church would be safe in his hands. Since his accession to the Papacy, he has displayed great simplicity of manners, and the artists who came to model his bust were astonished to find that he refused to allow them to kneel, and that the successor to the Apostles, who is also the heir to the Cæsars, noted the time by drawing from his pocket a nickel watch with a very shabby watch-guard.

In his first speech, when receiving the diplomatic representatives accredited to the Vatican, he declared that it was his earnest desire to see the peace of the world strengthened, and it

would ever be his endeavor to bring about that end. The Pope, of course, according to his theory, is the natural head of the supreme tribunal constituted for the preservation of the peace of the world. But he is himself excluded from the Hague Court, and it is to be hoped that he will work outside with zeal in the propaganda of peace, and that he will do his utmost to free the Papacy from the reproach of being prejudiced in its consideration of international disputes by its devotion to its lost temporal power.

#### AN ADVOCATE OF PEACE AND A BELIEVER IN AMERICA.

The most remarkable utterance, however, which was reported in the early days of his Papacy was the remark which he is said to have made to Cardinal Gibbons, who waited upon him with a deputation of American pilgrims. The Pope is said to have declared that he shared the belief of his visitors in the great destiny of their nation. He added this remarkable expression of his own belief, that the light which came from the United States would rejuvenate Europe. It is singular that the first utterance of the new Pontiff should have been so emphatic a declaration of his belief in the Americanization of the world. It would seem that Pius X. will be at least as American in his sympathies as his predecessor.

## THE CONCLAVE AND THE POPE.

BY TALCOTT WILLIAMS.

SOME fifteen years have passed since, midway between our day and the departure of the temporal power from the Pope, I asked a distinguished member of the English diplomatic service, himself a Catholic, fresh from a confidential mission to the Vatican, if the Roman Curia, now that the Pope was no longer sovereign, was developing and training minds as subtle, as powerful, and as skilled in the management and manipulation of men and affairs as in the centuries gone by. In those centuries, a small Italian state, plus the Roman Church, had to be reckoned with as one of the greater powers of Europe and its representatives respected at any court as one of its greater ambassadors.

"The Italian mind is unchanged," he replied, in substance; "as subtle, as keen, and as able as ever. I see no change between the men of

the Curia to-day and thirty years ago." But the old opportunities and training are gone. The Church is no longer a state. The Conclave which has just chosen Pius X. has revealed and recorded the change which this acute observer noted, and which then, when a moiety of the College was still of Pio Nono's appointment, was but half completed. The temporal power had for the Roman communion many and manifest advantages; but the least of them, the inviolability of the Pope and his position as sovereign, has been, because most visible, most insisted upon. The greatest of these advantages has been least asserted. Its loss and its counterbalancing advantages have but now, by loss, become visible and valuable. The possession of a state, small though it was, the keystone of the Peninsular arch and the center of the movement



and intrigue which centered about Italy, gave to the rulers of the Roman Church the work and the training of statesmen. They alone among ecclesiastics in the modern world ruled cities and administered provinces. They shared the wider, if misleading, life of this world. At every court, they represented more than a spiritual power. Their careers were the careers of men of every ruling class in Europe,—in some evil days and in evil case more closely assimilated with this life than was seemly. Leo XIII. had himself been at great courts. He had shared, from early manhood, in the more delicate work of the diplomatist. He had for thirty years ruled Perugia and maintained order over a territory small but taxing every power of the administrator. His predecessor had visited the New World on an important diplomatic mission, personally knew the rulers of central Europe, and as ruler of Spoleto saved the future Emperor of the French from imminent execution in one of his early revolutionary attempts.

#### ANCIENT NOBILITY OF THE CURIA.

Both were of noble birth. Careers like theirs drew to the services of the Church the able and aspiring youth of the ruling families of central and southern Italy. From their ranks, the Papacy was for centuries served by men whose success as civil administrators of the estates of the Church left much to be desired by their subjects, but whose place in the privileged and advantaged circle of every European country was theirs by birth, by training, and by the exercise of power and the enjoyment of post and place, which, if held on the narrow field of St. Peter's patrimony, were still the same in kind as the foremost places in any country. The early, long, and habitual exercise of rule, forget it as one may in the perpetual changes of democratic institutions, imparts a training, confers a character, and gives an ascendancy in the affairs of life nothing else bestows. The Roman Curia up to thirty years ago possessed an attraction and offered advantages to the princely caste of Europe nowhere else open. It combined the rule of this world and the influence and assurance of the next.

#### THE CONCLAVE THAT ELECTED LEO.

When the Conclave met, on February 19, 1878, to elect Cardinal Pecci Leo XIII., there sat in the College a Hohenlohe from Germany and a Howard from England, a Schwartzenburg from Austria, younger brother of the head of the house, scions of the princely families of Chigi-Albani and Monaco-Valetta,—a Sforza had but just been removed by death,—while Lucien

Bonaparte represented the last European house to raise itself by its own ability to an unchallenged position in the royal caste. The list was thick-sprinkled with members of lesser noble



CARDINAL OREGLIA.

families. There were many men in it of lowly birth. Not a body of its place and importance in Europe was as democratic; but, none the less, its tone was aristocratic. If its members were princes of the Church, many also were princes of this world. They and their companions were men of the upper castes of Europe. By birth, by association, by kinship, by education, they were part of that network of intimate personal relations which make the ruling and dominant strata of all European countries practically one. Such a body elected a man of this training, type, order, and acquaintance, in Joachim Pecci, a scholar and a saint, if ever either lived; but a scholar as those of gentle birth are scholars and a saint of Cæsar's household.

#### DEMOCRACY IN THE RECENT CONCLAVE.

The Conclave which met a month ago, twenty-five years and five months after its predecessor, had wholly changed. But one man, Cardinal Oreglia, himself a man of good birth, survived of the earlier college. All others were of the creation of Leo. A believer in democracy, he had answered to the spirit of the

day in his elevation of cardinals. Still more, he had been guided by the men from whom he had to choose. Stripped of its temporalities and offering to its chosen sons in its own service no secular career, the Church no longer finds its College filled with scions of princely houses. You will look in vain for any member of the mediatized houses of Europe or of the royal caste. A Chigi stood on guard at the door of the Conclave, but none of his name voted within, where one has not often been absent, and one of its members, Cardinal Chigi, led the successful faction in the longest contest of modern times which in 1670 elected Cardinal Altieri. There are great Roman families which have not been without a cardinal for generations together. No single great Roman name is now present in the College, though many are of a secondary rank; but the list is thick with the names of men of humble birth, some born of poor peasants, like Sarto, elected, Gotti, a dock laborer's son, and Svampa, a shepherd's.

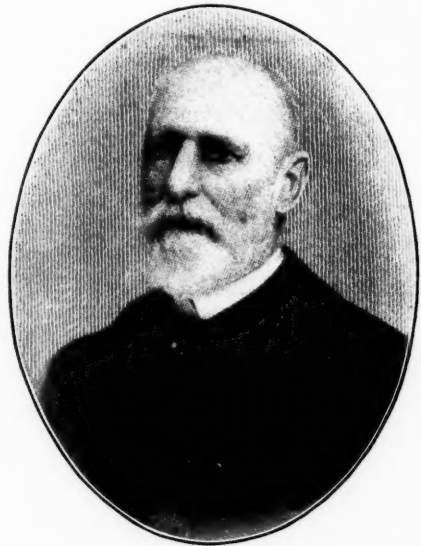
The Spanish cardinals revive the earlier tradition. The cardinals from Sicily are of the class from whom cardinals were earlier selected. So are some of the Roman cardinals. But there has not been in centuries a College of whom so few were well-born and so many men who had risen from a lowly origin and owed their all to the Church which had honored them and which they had faithfully served.

In this Conclave, it has become plain to all the world that the center of gravity for the Roman communion has shifted. It was once swayed and colored by the state it controlled, small though it was. Its higher ecclesiastics felt the atmosphere of affairs at Rome. To-day, the Roman Church is a church, and a state but in memory. Unconsciously, it has accepted and is accepting the separation between church and state the modern world decrees. Even in our own American cities, the man with a political memory of thirty years back can see that the political bishop of a prior day is disappearing in the American Roman Catholic Church, to be replaced by men whom all feel are before all things men of religious affairs, accepted by all without jealousy or challenge.

#### GRADUAL SEPARATION OF CHURCH AND STATE.

This circumstance alone has radically altered and affected the action and atmosphere of the Conclave, but it alone would have done little. More than one of the Popes of the past two centuries has been of humble origin. Clement XIV., most pious and most aspersed of modern Pontiffs, was as completely and wholly preacher and ecclesiastic as the Patriarch of Venice, though

of an order. But the Conclave has not only been colored and composed of men whose life was all of and in the Church. They were, necessarily, men without civic and secular relations. Papal abstention has cut off the Roman ecclesiastic more completely from the active and worldly life about him than is true of Catholic primates even in England and in the United States, one of which by statute still penalizes English Roman sees, while the other separates church and state. In France, republican administrations admonish bishops active in politics like



PRINCE CHIGI.  
(Marshal of the Conclave.)

schoolboys. In Spain, Austria, Germany, and Belgium alone do great churchmen still enjoy the close connection with affairs of state they once had in all European lands.

The cardinals met, therefore, not only without birth and without secular careers, but without wide relations or intimate companionship and association with affairs and the advantaged, except in their chosen field in the Church itself. They are all ecclesiastics, and nothing but ecclesiastics. Even their work as Nuncio and apostolic legate relates to spiritual and not to secular affairs. They may, as in Germany, exercise a paramount influence on the policy of the strongest party in the Reichstag, but even this they do as primates and spiritual shepherds, and not, as cardinals once did, in more than one court and government, as statesmen, ministers, and men of affairs.

## STRENGTH OF GOTTI AND RAMPOLLA.

These things go to the core of men and decide the inmost turn and temper of their acts and character. The old traditions were strong at Rome. Men looked for the old divisions and the old influences. Not a correspondent predicted the result. Sarto was scarcely noted. As the Conclave met with every medieval ceremony, so men looked to see old conditions control its action. The new Pope not often represents the policy of his predecessor. Leo XIII. turned from the path of Pius IX. Cardinal Ferretti, so differed from Gregory XVI., the friend of Austria, that Metternich sent by the Bishop of Padua to "exclude" the election of Pius IX. Clement XIII., the avowed friend of the Society of Jesus, had as his successor Ganganelli, its sincere opponent.

It was natural for men who had seen this change so often repeated that it has become the rule to expect Leo, the broad, urbane, active, and intellectual Pontiff, to be succeeded by some man who, like Gotti, or even Oreglia, stood for the uncompromising assertion of priestly power. In every organization, there are men prone to believe in it as an end and not as a means. Most of all is this true of ecclesiastics, and the simple, strong, and austere Carmelite monk who as Archbishop of Genoa represents the clerical opposition was the natural choice of such men. He had also German support. The old order which Leo so well represented, the shrewd and skilled Italian policy and management which has for centuries addressed itself to secure suprem-

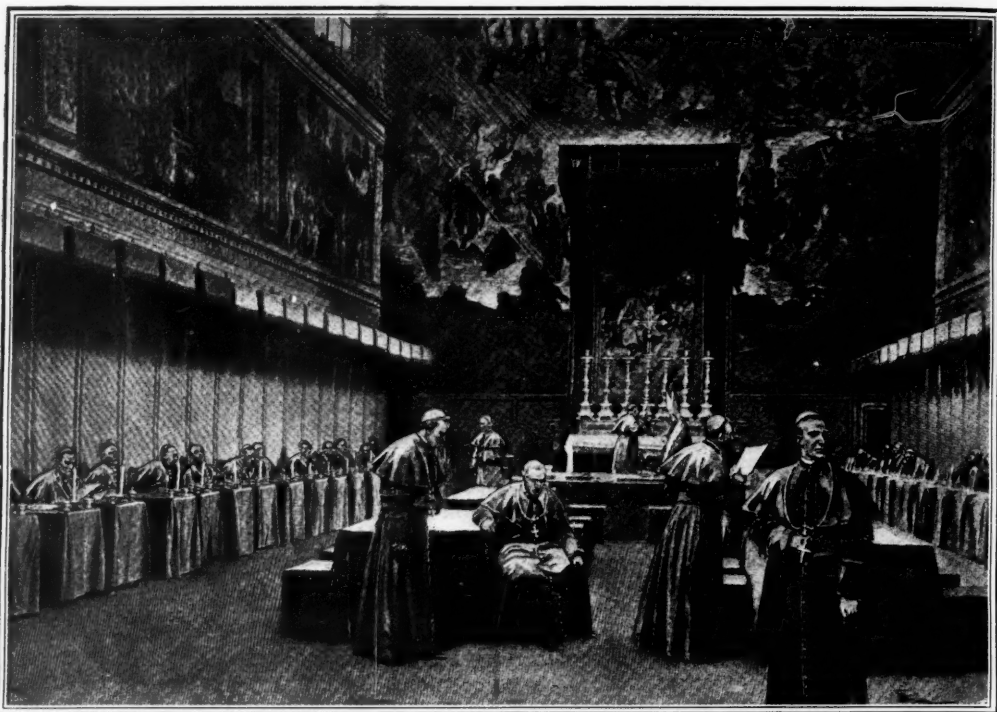
acy for the Roman See, a policy weighted for him with a solemn sense of a high mission, had its representative in Rampolla, supported by the Sicilian cardinals and the Roman group which had served with him in the Curia. Such an election would have stood for the cool, farsighted course which through so many centuries has made secular politics the handmaiden of spiritual power. Under Leo, it foiled Bismarck in Germany, recovered control in Spain, and kept it unchallenged to the end, ruled Belgium, and was only clouded, at the close, by the revolt of great throngs in Austria and Hungary, and by the wanton intolerance of the republic in France. Ten years ago, when Pecci's course seemed about to be everywhere triumphant, an election which continued the central Italian group in control would have been almost inevitable; but events have chilled the early laurels of the Leonine policy. It had in him a great man of high principle and absorbing faith,—far more than the usual Italian churchman. In lesser hands, it would become mere opportunism.

## THE ITALIAN VOTE ALONE NO LONGER ELECTS A POPE.

When the Conclave met, therefore, it is plain, from current and contemporary Roman, Italian, and European comment, that a division was expected along the old familiar lines of cleavage between the rigorous ecclesiastic party and the party, familiar in all churches, which believes in a perpetual adjustment of ecclesiastical policy to secular needs. If the latest reports, which give Rampolla 24 votes, Serafino Vannutelli 4, Gotti 17, Oreglia 2, Di Pietro 2, Capececiatro 2, and Sarto 5, be approximate, and they are probably more approximate than accurate, they simply indicate that the official party held a third of the Conclave; that the opportunist representative of reaction, Vannutelli, its rigorous candidate, and its reactionary leader had between them 23 votes, and that two men, Pietro and Capececiatro, fit for the compromise of an aged and blameless candidate such as chose Leo XIII., with the liberal Agliardi, protector of Father Murri, divided 5 votes, leaving 7 scattering. When Leo XIII. was elected, as now, out of 64 cardi-



CROWD WATCHING THE SMOKE FROM THE CHIMNEY OF THE SISTINE CHAPEL, SHOWING THAT AN ELECTION HAD NOT YET BEEN COMPLETED.



From a drawing in *L'Illustration*, Paris.

THE CARDINALS ASSEMBLED IN THE SISTINE CHAPEL FOR THE ELECTION OF A NEW POPE.

nals, 24 were foreign. The foreign cardinals in the present College of 65 number 25. In both, the Italian vote alone could not, if it united, elect a Pope, as was once the traditional possibility. But for late recent and numerous creations by Leo, the Italian cardinals would have been in a bare majority. It is not long since there were only thirty-seven Italian cardinals to thirty foreign. If another Pope were to carry this policy another march as far beyond his predecessors as Leo went, at one time, the foreign cardinals would be in a majority.

ROME LESS PREDOMINANT.

His later creations redeemed the balance and gave the Italian party its old predominance, but it was no longer Roman. When he was elected, half the College was clustered about Rome and its outlying members were in close touch and sympathy with well-born Europe. North Italy was now dominant. Of the leading candidates, Gotti, Oreglia, and Sarto, elected, were born in North Italy and Rampolla in Sicily. Only Vannutelli was born in the narrow region from which so many Popes have come. But more than birth or personal association was the simple

circumstance that the men now gathered in the Conclave had been all their lives only ecclesiastics. Leo himself, the old man of ninety-three, with his training in diplomacy and his early associations with courts, was a survival. So are Rampolla and the courtly Vannutelli, in whose arms the Count of Chambord died and all whose associations are of the higher social class. Gotti stood for the religious orders. Of these, there were but five in the Conclave,—Cardinal Steinhuber, a Jesuit, by German relations affiliated to his fellow "regular," Cardinal Celesi, a Benedictine; Cardinal Capececelatro, an Oratorian; Cardinal Pierotti, a Dominican, and Cardinal Vives y Tuto, a Franciscan and also a Spaniard, among whom Cardinal Rampolla was strong, having been Nuncio at Madrid from 1883 to 1888. Sixty of the Conclave were of the secular clergy, and they were, save the few in the score of cardinals who reside in Rome and make up the Curia, bred as priests and were in their earlier years only priests.

THE NEW POPE A SIMPLE PRIEST AND BISHOP.

To such a man the Conclave turned, and now that the result is reviewed, it is clear that to



such a man it was certain to turn. There was a half-century before the French Revolution when Popes were judged for their attitude toward the Society of Jesus. For the first half of the century, men passed on their attitude to the advancing liberal tide which at last engulfed Rome. For twenty-five years, the Pope has been Bishop and not King of Rome. The successor of Leo is a man whom no man knows save as priest and bishop.

He did not, like Gotti, enjoy German support, or Rampolla, Spanish, or, like Vannutelli, have Austrian affiliations born of his relations with Maximilian. Rather as parish priest in Venetia, forty years ago, he probably had his sympathies with the early revolution. He has never resided in Rome. He has no personal Roman connections. His life has been spent more apart from the Eternal City than any predecessor for two centuries, though one, Pius VII., born in the same province at Cesena, was elected in Venice one hundred and four years ago.

The new Pope is wholly separate in life and training from the Curial influences and prepossessions which constitute the bureaucracy of the Vatican. It has been for long years the Roman phrase that the Pope must be *bene natus, bene doctus, et bene vestitus*. In almost uninterrupted succession, they have belonged to the better or noble class of central Italy. This man is the son of obscure folk in an obscure village, one brother keeping an *osteria* and the other being a tobacconist. *Bene doctus* he is because educated by the charity of a man, Dom Bosco, whom he may be privileged to canonize, since he is already beatified. *Bene vestitus* he is only in his robes as cardinal and patriarch. Pius X. began life as a poor parish priest, and his modest stipend of some twenty-five hundred dollars as Archbishop and Patriarch of Venice proved all too large for his personal wants in a spectacular post justifying a lavish expenditure. His whole life has been dedicated to the simple and wholesome work of priest and bishop. He knows naught of courts. He has had no contact with diplomacy. He has known the charities of his diocese better than its politics. Priest, bishop, and ecclesiastic, he has been chosen by priests, bishops, and ecclesiastics.

Of his future policy, it would be temerity to speak. The report that Cardinal Satolli led the movement to him may be true, for in conversation while in this country the cardinal spoke in the highest terms of the dignity, the learning, and the administrative ability of Cardinal Sarto. Doubtless, as in all relations, there were various factors. The veto of Austria, in spite of denials, there is good reason to believe, was

interposed to render impossible the election of Rampolla. The objection of France rendered Gotti an unwise choice. A compromise became necessary. Once this would have turned to a man like Vannutelli, well-born, trained in courts, of the old type. Instead, and this is the significant fact in an election due to more than one factor, the Conclave selected a pious and faithful bishop, not so much from individual choice as because the current of the Church sets toward such men of lowly birth who, as priest, bishop, and archbishop, are known for their devotion to the work of the Church as a church. Pius X. is distinctly the new type of Roman bishop, like many in our cities whom all respect and all who know love. The general course of the recent years he cannot alter. He could not, if he would, and, though those without the communion find it hard to understand, he would not if he could. Being what he is, the presence of another sovereign in Rome is to him the foulest of wrongs, the worst of sacrilege. He will remain the "prisoner of the Vatican." His daily life will continue the etiquette of a captive sovereign.

But the logic of numbers nothing can change. The Pope is no longer, as was even Leo when crowned, the accepted head of a majority of Christendom. His flock of 230,000,000 is outnumbered by the total of Greek and Protestant, 246,000,000. Even in Europe, 160,000,000 look to him, and 170,000,000 to divided shepherds. When Pius IX. was crowned, his flock in Europe was 125,000,000, and those without his fold in European lands but 50,000,000. When Pius VII. took his troubled seat, a century ago, the proportion was nearly four to one. It was nearly eight to one when an Albani, as Clement XI., by the great Bull, *Unigenitus*, began modern ultramontaniam. In two hundred years, this assertion of the power of the Pope has seen him pass from the head of all but a ninth of Christendom to the head of less than half. In another century, Protestantism alone will equal Roman Catholicism. But the Roman Pontiff remains for all these changes, which have seen the great growth of modern population flow in Greek and Protestant channels, the august head of a majestic communion in whose many-chapeled shrine all lands and all men worship. To no man on earth do so many of earth's souls turn for comfort, compassion, and consolation, and no blessing is more truly *urbi et orbi*, felt by all the world, blessing those who acknowledge him not. For the deeper spiritual influences of life are not to be bounded by creed and confession, but fall, like the rain, on the just and unjust, the faithless and believing, all alike children of one Father, merciful and full of mercy.

## THE LATE FREDERICK WILLIAM HOLLS.

IN the sudden death of Mr. Frederick W. Holls, on July 23, this country has lost one of its best-trained and most versatile men of public affairs. Mr. Holls had just completed his forty-sixth year, and was in the very prime of his intellectual power and capacity for usefulness. With an intense American patriotism, he was at the same time a citizen of the larger republic that embraces broad-minded and peace-loving men of all nations.

His father, George Charles Holls, was born in Darmstadt, Germany, in 1824, of a family both distinguished and cultured. The father of George Charles Holls, after retiring from army service in the Napoleonic wars, had spent the remaining period of his life in the direction of public charities for the city of Darmstadt and the surrounding province. George Charles at first chose the calling of a professor of science; and to that end he studied in German and French polytechnic schools. But he soon found himself strongly drawn toward religious and philanthropic work, and in a few years, through intensely interesting experiences, he had made himself both a practical and a theoretical master of such methods as were then in vogue in Germany for the training of destitute children and the carrying on of other forms of social amelioration. He was a friend of Froebel, and all the most distinguished educators and philanthropists of Germany. While still in the twenties, he rendered distinguished service in Silesia, learning the Polish language in order to be of greater use.

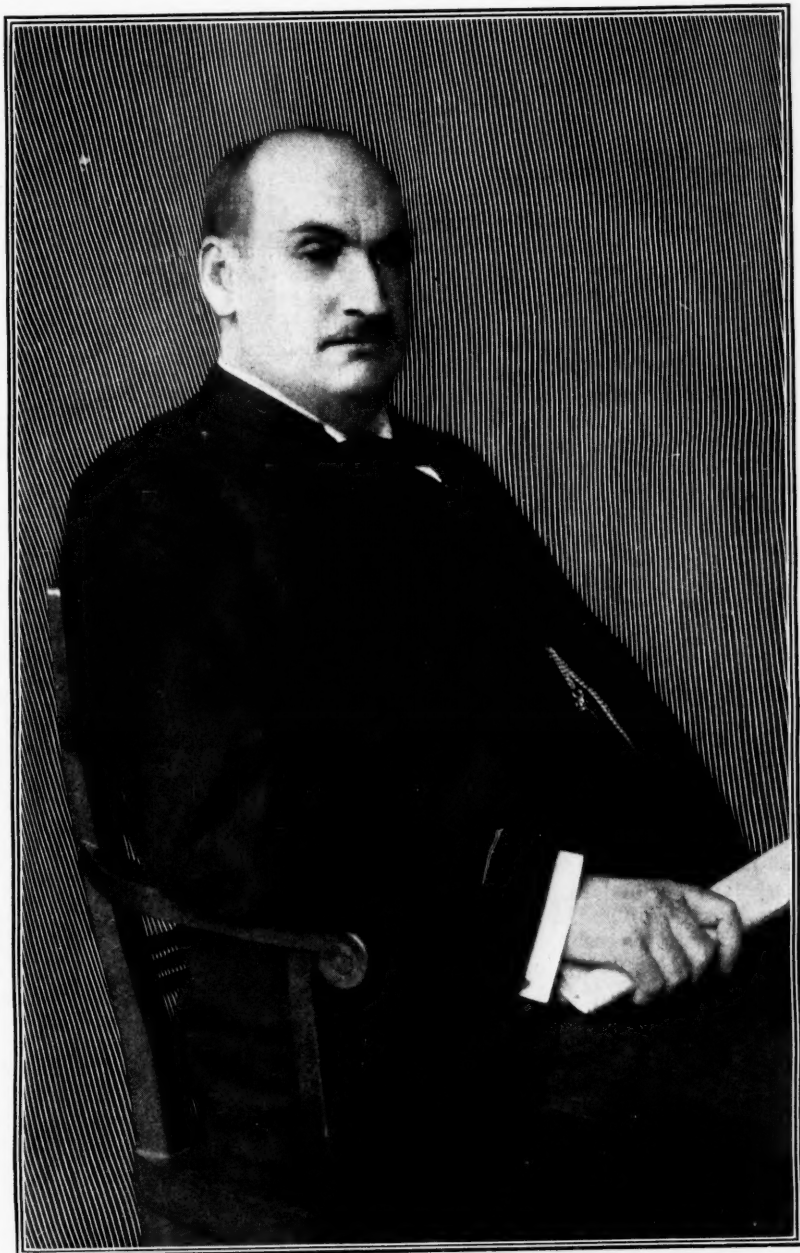
It was in 1851 that he yielded to a strong impulse to come to America. He was then only twenty-seven. His first year was spent in teaching German and French in an academy in Ohio while he learned English. In the next year, he was married in Germany, and it was not long before he was called upon to organize the first Lutheran orphan asylum in this country, the location being Zelienople, Butler County, Pa. He remained at the head of that institution for eleven years. It was there that his only son, Frederick William Holls, was born in 1857. In the year 1866, Dr. Holls having meanwhile entered the Lutheran ministry and risen to a high position in the Church, there was established the Wartburg Orphan Farm School, near Mount Vernon, in Westchester County, a few miles from New York City. Dr. Holls was placed in charge of this institution, which during his administration was pronounced by our foremost authorities to be the most admirable and perfect

institution of its kind ever known. He was a master of religious music, a man of wide and varied tastes and interests, a writer and contributor to the press, and, in short, a man of the very highest type of usefulness. He died in 1886, when his son, then a member of the New York bar, was entering his thirtieth year.

It is only through some such allusions to the career of his father,—a man greater even than his fame,—that one can understand the qualities and the career of Frederick William Holls. He graduated with honor at Columbia College in 1878, and from the law school of the same institution in 1880; but the best part of his education was that which he owed to the training he derived from his father at home as a boy. The father was as convinced and enthusiastic an American as if his ancestors had come over in the *Mayflower*; yet he knew the value of languages and of a cosmopolitan training, and the son grew up with a complete and easy mastery of two great languages. From his early boyhood, also, he was trained in music, of which he obtained a very extensive and thorough knowledge. He was an amateur organist of greater skill than most professionals.

With a father and grandfather eminent in philanthropy and charitable work, it was natural enough that Mr. Holls should have identified himself early with public movements for the bettering of the condition of the people of New York City. He was for many years a leading officer of the Legal Aid Society, which has protected scores of thousands of poor people against oppression and wrong. He was a director of the Charity Organization Society, was active in tenement-house reform work, and was ready to render service wherever called upon.

He was married, in 1889, to Miss Caroline M. Sayles, daughter of F. C. Sayles, Esq., of Rhode Island, whose death was noted several months ago, and who had recently built, at Pawtucket, R. I., a magnificent memorial library, a picture of which was published in this *Review*, and at the dedication of which Mr. Holls made an address. Mr. and Mrs. Holls, soon after their marriage, made their home on the Hudson River, in the suburbs of Yonkers, where his death occurred. This charming home was a center of hospitality and of cultured life. Many persons of eminence, widely scattered, will long cherish the memory of interesting conversations in Mr. Holls' library, and of rare entertainment in the music-room. Mr. Holls was an omnivor-



THE LATE FREDERICK WILLIAM HOLLS.

ous reader, with a prodigious memory; and he possessed a large and well-selected library, rich in historical, biographical, and political works.

While engaged for some twenty-two or three years in the practice of law in New York City, he was always intensely interested in politics and public questions; and as a Republican, had participated actively in every national campaign for nearly a quarter of a century. He was in regular demand where the campaign committees desired a speaker able to appeal in their own language to Germans of the best class in such cities, especially, as Chicago, Milwaukee, and St. Louis. The only elective office which he ever held was that of a member of the great constitutional convention which ten years ago revised the organic law of the State of New York. Ambassador Choate presided over that convention, and Secretary Root was its leading member on the floor. Both these men will bear ready testimony to the indefatigable services rendered them by Mr. Holls, who was chairman of the committee on education, a prominent member of the committee on cities, and a prompt authority on many points that arose involving the past legal or constitutional history of New York, or comparison with the systems of other States.

As he grew older, his interest in foreign policy and international problems was constantly increasing. He visited Europe almost every summer, and became ever more widely acquainted there with leading public men. He was especially well known in Germany, where in recent years he had established a branch of his legal firm, and where his long and greatly prized friendship with Dr. Andrew D. White made him always at home at the American embassy. From the very moment of the first announcement of the Czar's idea of an international conference for the discussion of disarmament and the promotion of peace, Mr. Holls was an enthusiastic supporter of the plan. Without disparagement of any one else, it may be said that to him, and, indeed, to him almost alone, must be attributed the gradual arousing of President McKinley's interest in the conference, and the final determination of our government to be represented by a large and strong delegation.

Mr. Holls' activity in the matter had made it natural that he should be sent to The Hague, and he preferred to go in the capacity of the delegation's secretary and executive officer. His wide acquaintance in Europe, and his knowledge of French and Spanish, as well as of German, made it possible for him to be of enormous service, not only to the American delegation, but also to the Hague Conference as a whole. Every leading European member of the conference,

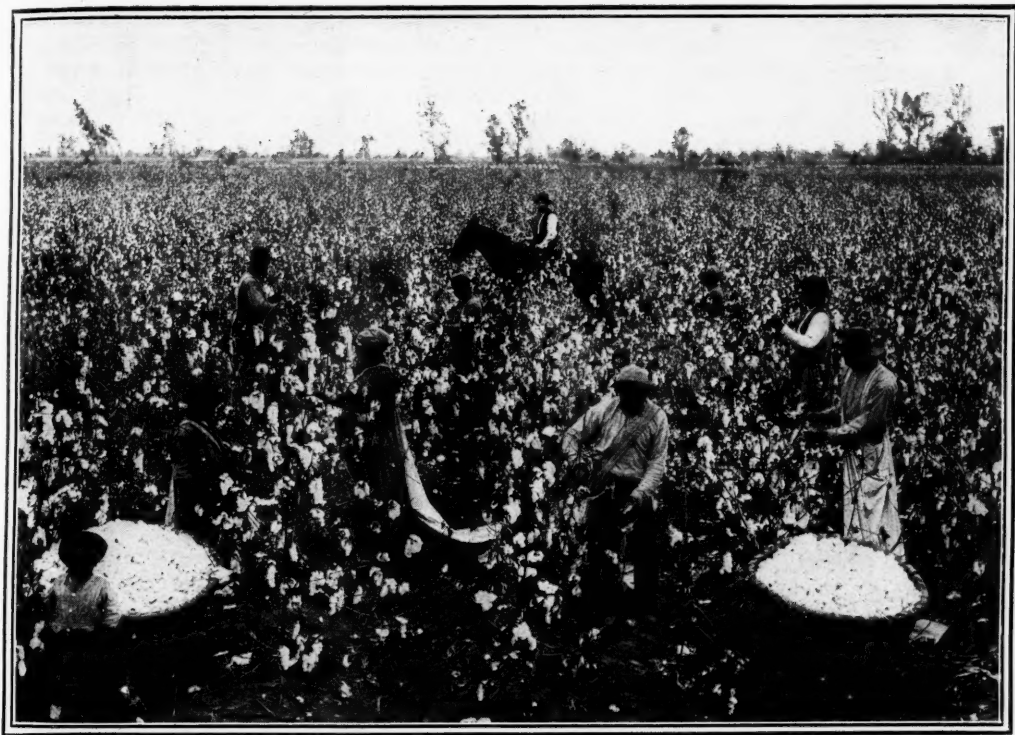
whether English, French, Russian, German, or otherwise, has ever since been ready to testify to the remarkable record made by Mr. Holls in the whole work of the conference. It happened that the disarmament proposals came to naught, while most unexpectedly the conference was diverted—largely through American influence—into the more fruitful field of international arbitration. Mr. Holls was the American member of the great committee which drafted the arbitration treaty. He showed unexpected resources of knowledge in the sphere of international law, and when the conference was over he wrote a book on its work and achievements that will long make his name known to students of history and international relations.

He had long been an intimate friend of President Roosevelt, who had only a few weeks ago asked him to umpire the adjustment of the German and English claims against Venezuela. He possessed the high distinction of being a member of the permanent international Hague tribunal, having been appointed to that office by the King of Siam. Whatever future public honors might have been in store for him, he had reached a position of influence and authority in the discussion of affairs which had already brought him world-wide recognition.

There was something, at times, in his directness and frankness that seemed to men who did not know him well, or who were of feebleness of convictions, to be tactless and aggressive; but in these days of over-tactfulness and complaisance it is refreshing to know a man who has strong views and opinions, and who never hesitates to assert them and is ready to fight for them. Men of complete candor and intellectual honesty in public affairs are not as numerous as one might wish for. Mr. Holls lived and thought upon a high plane, and strove for large rather than for petty ends. In the midst of the hurly-burly of professional, political, business, and social life, he never flinched from his full share of work; yet he still, somehow, found time for the pursuits of a thinker, a scholar, and a man of taste. With a remarkable sense of humor, his conversation sparkled with anecdote, and his letters were full of wit and pithy description. From a letter that Dr. Edward Everett Hale has written to express his own sorrow in the loss of Mr. Holls, we may quote the following sentences:

I used to write to him every month to ask him what secrets there were which I might publish on the house-tops in our journal. And so often, at least, I used to receive one of his wise, entertaining, vital letters, full of the suggestions of that extraordinary insight which was, once and again, of such service to the country.





COTTON HARVEST IN THE MISSISSIPPI DELTA.

(On the line of the Southern Railway, near Greenville, Miss.)

## THE COTTON CROP OF TO-DAY.

BY RICHARD H. EDMONDS.

(Editor and general manager of the *Manufacturers' Record*, Baltimore, Md.)

SINCE 1880, the South has raised 180,000,000 bales of cotton, worth at the price paid to the growers \$7,500,000,000. During that period,—or, rather, from June 30, 1881, to June 30, 1903,—the exports of cotton were \$5,393,500,000, of cotton goods \$363,900,000, and of cottonseed products about \$150,000,000,—a total of \$5,900,000,000, or 26 per cent. of the total export trade of the country. The importance of cotton in our foreign trade relations is strikingly illustrated in the fact that the aggregate value of the exports of flour, wheat, and corn since June 30, 1881, has been \$4,190,000,000, against \$5,900,000,000 as the value of cotton, cotton goods, and cottonseed products exported. In its relation to the commerce of the world, in its importance as a basis of vast manufacturing in-

terests employing a million of operatives and hundreds of millions of capital, no other agricultural product holds such a commanding position as cotton. Two years ago, our corn crop was cut short 40 per cent. by the drought and hot winds. Instead of an expected yield of nearly 2,500,000,000 bushels, the crop was but 1,500,000,000 bushels, but that enormous decrease created no excitement in the financial and manufacturing centers of the world. It did not even halt the phenomenal growth of traffic on Western railroads, but the most vivid imagination could scarcely picture the disasters which would follow a shortage of 50 per cent. in a year's cotton crop. A disaster so great as to cut our average cotton crop of ten and a half million bales down to five or six million bales would shake

the business world and bring about in America, as well as in Europe, a repetition of the conditions in Lancashire, forty years ago, caused by the cotton famine of 1861-65. During 1863-64 cotton averaged over \$1 a pound in New York, or ten times its normal price.

#### HALF A BILLION A YEAR TO AMERICAN GROWERS.

When the wheat crop or the corn crop is below the normal yield, in part at least, substitutes can be provided, but for cotton there is no substitute. After it has left the field, it affords employment in its manufacture to over a million operatives, besides the hundreds of thousands employed in the making of machinery and in other work connected with this industry. The capital invested in the cotton-manufacturing interests of the world has been estimated to exceed two billion dollars. The world's production of cotton has averaged, for the last six years, 13,470,000 bales of 500 pounds each, of which the South has produced during that time an average of 10,023,000 bales, or 75 per cent. The South is now producing an average of about ten and a half million bales a year. The largest crop which it ever raised was 11,274,840 bales, in 1898; but owing to the very low prices then prevailing, its value was the smallest for any year since 1878. In that year the yield was 5,074,155 bales, but this gave to the cotton planters of the South \$236,586,000, while the eleven-million-bale crop of twenty years later brought \$282,772,000. From the low prices of 1898 there was a sharp rally, and the crop of 1900, running to ten and a third million bales, was valued at \$494,567,000, and that of the following year at \$452,000,000. To these figures should be added the value of the seed, now averaging about \$80,000,000 a year, making the true value of the cotton crop to the farmers during the last two or three years between \$500,000,000 and \$575,000,000 a year.

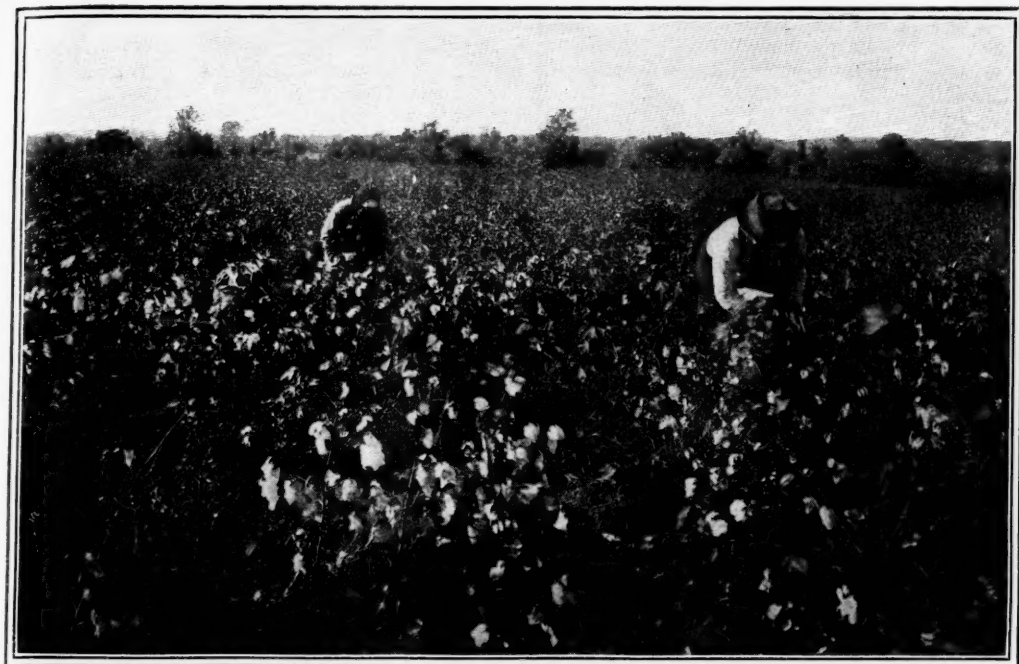
#### PROS AND CONS OF LOW PRICES.

The average price in New York for the crop year, from September 1, 1900, to August 31, 1901, was 8.96 cents per pound, and during the following year 8.75 cents per pound. At these figures there is a fair margin of profit to the growers. Of late years it has been generally accepted that ten-cent cotton would not again be seen except for some brief period when a crop failure or speculation might temporarily advance the price. But is this true? The answer to that question is beyond human knowledge. Leaders of the bull movement, which has lately run the price of cotton up several cents per pound, making it higher now than the average yearly price

for any year during the last quarter of a century, claim that for twelve years this staple has been selling much too low, and that we have entered a period of higher values for the South's great crop. On the other hand, manufacturers at home and abroad are curtailing production, because the advance in the manufactured goods has not been commensurate with the advance in raw cotton. It is possible, however, for that condition to prove only temporary, and the argument against high-priced cotton which they base on this is, therefore, not of much importance. But they also insist that the world's markets would not through a period of years take the product of a ten or eleven million bale crop with prices for the raw material as high as now prevailing. The mill-owners believe that these high prices would reduce the consumption of coarse goods in China and among the poorer classes of this country to such an extent as to bring about a great reaction in price.

Another argument which is constantly put forth against high prices is that they would stimulate the development of cotton-growing in other countries, and that the South's policy should be to produce large crops that prices may be kept down to a low figure, in order to discourage cotton-growing in Egypt, India, Russia, and elsewhere. It is true that every possible encouragement is being given by European governments, as well as by business organizations, to aid in the development of cotton-growing abroad, in order that the dependence of European spinners upon American cotton may be lessened. The argument for big crops and low prices, though, is not entirely sound; there are some strong points to it, but even if sound it would be without effect, for cotton growers, acting individually, as they must do, are not controlled by such broad reasoning. On the same line, and with equal propriety, Western farmers were once urged to raise enough wheat to keep prices so low that other wheat-growing countries might be kept from increasing their production. Cotton planters, like wheat growers, are moved simply by the question of whether they can sell at a profit the cotton they raise each year. They are looking not to what may come about ten or twenty years hence, but to the actual results which they can secure to-day. Theoretically, the argument for large crops raised at a low cost, in order that the South may continue to hold its monopoly of the world's cotton production, may be correct, but, practically, it has no more effect than would an argument for low-priced wheat have on wheat growers.

In this connection it should be borne in mind that cotton manufacturers are, almost neces-



PICKING COTTON NEAR MUSKOGEE, INDIAN TERRITORY.

sarily, "bears" on the price of the raw material, as the influence of European and American spinners is consciously or unconsciously united to force down the price paid the grower and to create a sentiment throughout the business world against higher prices. Handling cotton at \$50 a bale requires much larger capital for the mills than at \$30. Moreover, when the price of cotton is low, the margin of profit between the raw staple and the manufactured product is proportionately greater than when prices rule high. Here are two of the compelling causes which make "bears" of cotton manufacturers. Therefore, European spinners, having no other interest in our cotton than to buy at the lowest possible cost, are unceasing in their efforts to depress the price, and American spinners, following their lead and urged by their own pecuniary interests, based on the fact that low prices mean greater profits to them, naturally join in the effort to bring about this result. This policy is in no wise different from that pursued by all other buyers under similar conditions, but its effects are probably more far-reaching.

#### RANGE OF PRICES IN THE NINETEENTH CENTURY.

While no one can forecast the future of cotton prices with any certainty, it will, at least, prove interesting to study the subject in the

light of the past. In the early part of the nineteenth century, cotton sold as high as 44 cents a pound, and from that gradually declined under a rapid increase in production, but until 1839 it had never gone below 13 cents a pound as the average price in New York for a full year. In 1840-41, however, it dropped to 9.50 cents as the New York average for twelve months, and then steadily declined until 1843-44, when the New York average price for the year was 5.63 cents, the lowest average ever recorded. From this it soon rallied, reaching 7.87 cents the following year and 11.21 cents in 1846-47, declining again in the two following years, but by 1849-50 it had recovered to 12.34 cents. Between 1850 and 1860, the average New York price ranged from 9.50 cents per pound in 1851-52, the lowest during that period, to 13.51 in 1856-57, the highest. During the war cotton advanced in New York to over a dollar a pound, and for some years thereafter it fluctuated between 42 cents and 13 cents. The largest crop produced before the war was 4,860,000 bales in 1859. Not until 1878 did the yield again reach that figure. Between 1852 and 1890 there was only one year in which the New York price fell below 10 cents, and that was in 1885, when the average was 9.44 cents. Beginning with 1890, broken by one or two temporary spurts to better



IN THE RAILROAD STORAGE YARD, PINE BLUFF, ARK.

prices, there was a steady decline from 9.03 cents in that year to 6 cents in 1898, but between 1891 and 1902 the average New York value never got back to as much as 9 cents a pound.

#### HOW MUCH COTTON CAN THE WORLD USE ?

In the light of these figures it becomes a very interesting question whether the contention is true that the world would not consume an 11,000,000 to 12,000,000 bale crop at about the same prices that ruled from 1850 to 1890, excepting, of course, the war period. In 1859, a crop of nearly 5,000,000 bales,—or, to be exact, 4,800,000 bales,—was marketed at an average of 11 cents. Is it unreasonable to suppose that a crop of ten and a half to eleven million bales a year would not now be equally as well absorbed at about the same price? The material progress of the world since 1859 has been so stupendous, population here, as in Europe, has so enormously increased,—our own population having advanced in that period from about 30,000,000 to nearly 80,000,000,—and labor is so much more fully employed at higher wages, that the natural conclusion would seem to indicate that consumption of cotton goods would be sufficient to absorb our present crops of the raw staple, even at a range of several cents a pound above the low price of the last ten years. In the last hundred years there have been only two periods,—one between 1840 and 1849, and the other since 1890,—in which the average price of cotton was not above 10 cents a pound; and yet the world took all the cotton goods produced during that period. At 8 cents a pound cotton-growing is fairly profitable to the more thrifty Southern farmers, but 10 cents a pound would mean an additional clear profit to them, beyond the profit at 8 cents, of about \$100,000,000 a year.

The production of cotton by States since 1860 is illustrated in the following figures :

States.	1860. Bales. 400 lbs.	1890. Bales. 477 lbs.	1900. Bales. 500 lbs.	1902. Bales. 500 lbs.
Alabama.....	989,955	915,210	1,023,802	956,215
Arkansas.....	367,393	691,494	812,984	970,205
Florida.....	65,153	57,928	48,616	58,969
Georgia.....	701,840	1,191,846	1,203,308	1,425,044
Illinois.....	1,482			
Indian Territory.....		34,115	249,935	351,598
Kansas.....	61	212	151	50
Kentucky.....		873	133	1,213
Louisiana.....	777,738	659,180	705,767	882,073
Mississippi.....	1,302,507	1,154,725	1,046,700	1,443,740
Missouri.....	41,188	15,856	37,871	42,255
New Mexico.....	19			
North Carolina.....	145,514	336,361	477,289	549,542
Oklahoma.....		425	106,707	193,784
South Carolina.....	353,412	747,190	748,726	925,490
Tennessee.....	286,464	190,579	221,619	317,149
Texas.....	431,463	1,471,242	3,438,386	2,498,013
Utah.....	136		31	
Virginia.....	12,727	5,375	11,022	15,614
Total.....	5,387,052	7,472,511	10,123,027	10,630,945

NOTE.—The figures for 1860 and 1890 from the census of those years deal with the crop of 1859-60 and 1889-90, respectively. The figures for 1900 and 1902 deal with the cotton ginned from the crops grown in those years.

#### GATHERING THE CROP.

Owing to the rainy weather which prevailed throughout the cotton region last spring, planting was much delayed, and the crop is estimated to be at least three weeks late. The condition of the plant is, however, favorable, and rapid improvement is reported from nearly every part of the South, giving promise of a good yield; but there are still many dangers to be met, not the least of which is early frost, and this danger is all the greater by reason of the lateness of the crop. The "picking" or gathering of cotton begins in the late summer, as soon as the bolls begin to fully open; but as all bolls do not open at the same time, every field must be covered by the pickers many times. Picking may go on in the same field from early September to the end of December, as fresh bolls continue to open until a heavy frost. During the season cotton-pickers are almost as much in demand as are harvest hands in Kansas when Nature has given to the wheat growers such an abundant crop as that State has had this year, but the South has never attempted to draw laborers from elsewhere into its cotton-fields. Cotton-picking is still done entirely by hand. Many picking machines have been invented, and a few have given promise of success, only to go down when put to the practical test, though one was reported as fairly successful last season in an experimental way, and its promoters have great hopes that it may solve a problem which



has taxed the mechanical ingenuity of the country, the solving of which would be worth many millions of dollars annually to the South, for cotton-picking is one of the heaviest items of cost to the growers.

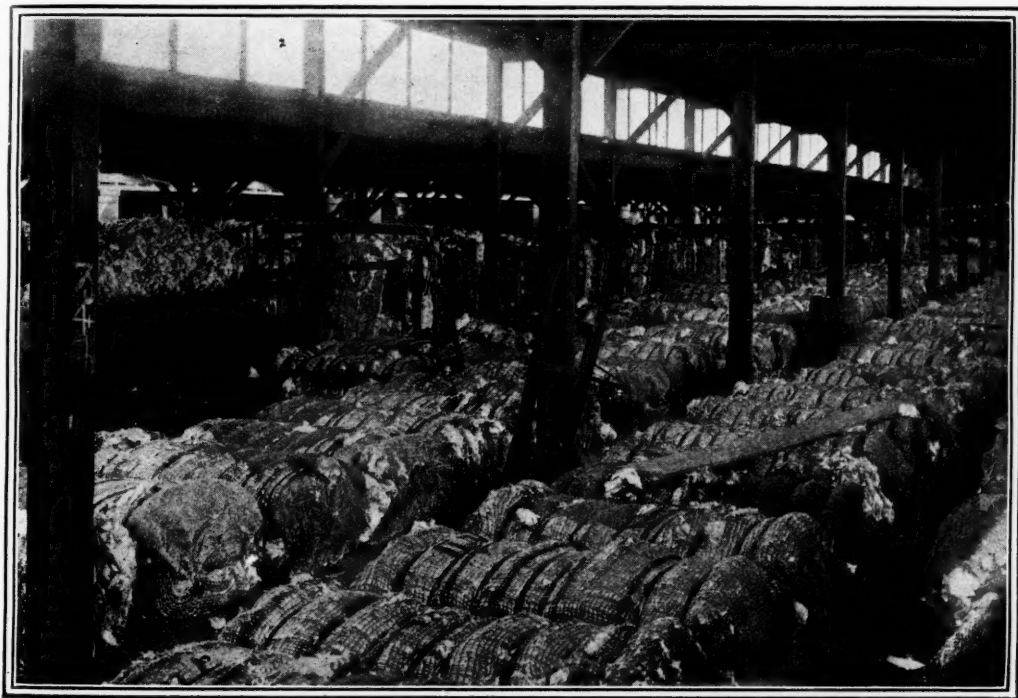
#### THE MENACE OF THE BOLL-WEEVIL.

It is generally understood that the production of cotton can be advanced in the South as rapidly as the world's requirements may demand. The opening up of new land in the Southwest, especially in Texas, Oklahoma, and Indian Territory, is expected to provide all the increase in cotton acreage which may be needed. Judged by surface indications this seems true, and to some extent it is correct. It has often been said that the South could provide the acreage and the labor to produce twenty million or twenty-five million bales whenever the world's requirements created a demand for such a quantity, but within the last few years new factors have arisen which may set some limitations to this forecast. Within that period the boll-weevil has entered Texas, moving northward from Mexico, and as yet no remedy has been found for this destructive pest. It is to-day the greatest menace cotton growers have ever had to face. The national

government and State governments are seeking a remedy, but none has been found. Texas has recently offered a reward of \$50,000 for the discovery of any agency which will destroy the boll-weevil. In some sections of that State cotton-growing is being abandoned because of this pest, and the land is being turned to other crops, while in some cases Texas cotton growers are moving to Oklahoma and Indian Territory, where the boll-weevil has not yet reached. This so far unconquered enemy of cotton may retard the expected increase which the future has been counted upon to produce. But outside of this, other causes are at work to curtail the anticipated increase.

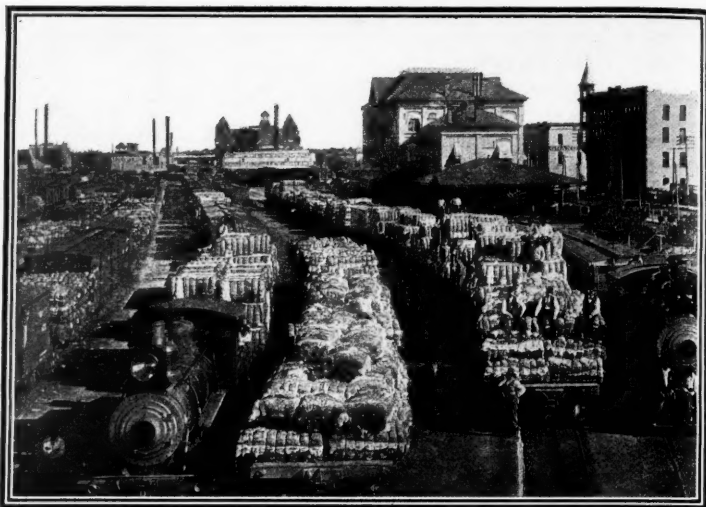
#### DEVELOPMENT OF OTHER INDUSTRIES OPERATES TO RETARD COTTON PRODUCTION.

The remarkable industrial activity throughout the South is creating a demand for labor greater than the supply. Mining operations, railroad construction, lumbering, cotton manufacturing, and the growth of cities are all united to draw labor from the cotton-fields. In these pursuits the rate of wages is much higher than on the farm, and with cotton at the low range of prices which have prevailed for ten years, planters can-



INTERIOR OF THE "KATY" COTTON SHEDS AT HOUSTON, TEXAS.

not advance wages sufficiently to meet the growing demand for industrial laborers. Even now the mining and manufacturing interests of the South are often restricted by the scarcity of hands. It is true that in the towns and cities of the South there are thousands of idle negro men, who live on the earnings of the negro women, who ought to be out in the cotton-fields, but nothing has yet been devised to force them to go. The man who wants to work, whether on the farm or in industrial labor, whether he be white or black, can find abundance of opportunity throughout the South; but the lazy loafer, though his name be legion, need not be counted as a possible factor in the demand for more men in cotton-growing. It is safe to say that the demand for labor throughout the South is developing more rapidly than the supply. Moreover, the attractions of early fruit-growing, trucking, and diversified farming generally are every year causing many farmers to turn to these pursuits. The development of large industrial communities is creating a home demand for diversified farm products, and cotton has ceased to be the only ready-money crop which can be raised. Though the early fruit and trucking industry is comparatively new, the South is already shipping over \$50,000,000 a year of fruit and vegetables to Northern and Western markets. The whole trend of Southern activities and opportunities seems to be away from any great increase in cotton-growing. The development of diversified farming will prove of far more value to the South at large, as well as more profitable to the farmers individually, than would a large increase in cotton acreage at the expense of diversification of agricultural interests. On the other hand, so great is the South's devotion to this staple, so simple is its cultivation, that under a very remunerative price for a few years in succession the increase in production would quickly overcome these adverse factors and result in much larger crops than we have ever had, however strong may seem the theoretical arguments against the possibility of this. But any important increase is not likely to come about under a low range of prices.



COTTON TRAINS IN A SOUTHERN PACIFIC FREIGHT YARD.

#### HOW THE ANTE-BELLUM COTTON CROP WAS MADE TO PAY.

Prior to the war, it was the general custom of Southern planters to raise a very large part of the foodstuffs, corn, bacon, etc., needed for man and farm animals, thus making cotton to a considerable extent a surplus money crop. But with the changes brought about by the war, the necessity of mortgaging their crops in advance of planting for the money needed to get a fresh start, and the development of the tenantry system, the South came to depend more and more upon the West for its corn and bacon. Even with the marked increase of late years in diversified farming, the central cotton States of the South do not as yet raise as much corn or produce as much bacon as in 1860, though the population is more than two and a half times greater.

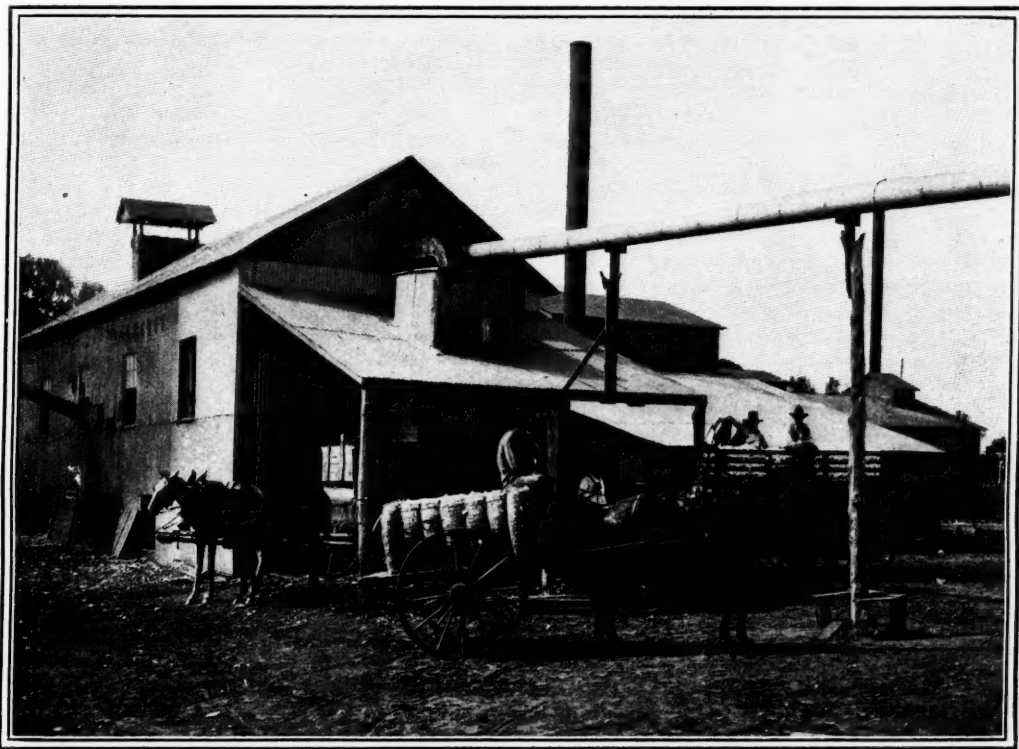
When the Confederate soldier, after his long struggle, returned to his home, it was to a land of utter desolation. Burdened with debts, crushed by the loss of loved ones and the destruction of his cherished ambitions, without credit at home or abroad, with the whole economic situation revolutionized by a disorganized labor situation, he had to face conditions unparalleled in the world's history. How to start anew was the supreme question. Under the old system, the well-managed plantation was almost complete in itself. The large planters directed and controlled their plantations as great business concerns, with almost as much skill as the big industrial combinations of to-day are handled.

Their aim was to carry production from the raw material to the finished product. In cotton planting as an industry the raw material might be classed as every element entering into its cheapest production. That meant the raising of nearly all foodstuffs for man and beast, for upon the planter's ability to provide at a low cost an abundance of corn and bacon depended his ability to produce cotton at a low cost. The investment in slaves and the cost of maintenance made slave labor too costly to be profitable unless managed with skill. In addition to raising corn and bacon, the plantation must have an ample supply of live stock for all purposes; bad weather must be utilized indoors, and so the negro men were taught to repair wagons and agricultural implements, to make boots and shoes, and do similar work, while the more skillful negro women, under the instruction of the mistress of the home, were taught to spin and weave, to provide the supply of "homespun" goods needed for clothes for the slaves. Living at home, and utilizing its labor in this most intelligent way, the South made its cotton almost a surplus money crop. Its marvelous prosperity under these conditions

is illustrated in the simple fact that between 1850 and 1860 the true valuation of Southern property, according to United States census reports, increased over \$3,480,000,000 against an increase during the same period of \$2,460,000,000 in the New England and Middle States combined.

#### THE LIEN SYSTEM—THE PLANTER'S ECONOMIC DEPENDENCE.

The wreck and ruin of 1861-65 and the evils of reconstruction changed all this. Without capital on which to start, the planter had to depend alone upon credit. He had to buy new farming implements, mules, and everything else needed for home and farm until he could raise a crop. Money-lenders were promptly on hand, and, as "beggars cannot be choosers," he had to accept their terms: these were credit at their stores as an advance against cotton to be raised. They would provide mules and plows, and corn and bacon,—in fact, anything from a paper of pins to a silk dress, or from a pound of nails to a wagon or carriage,—all in proportion to the number of acres to be planted in cotton, no ad-



A MODERN COTTON GIN AT SMITHVILLE, TEXAS.



COTTON COMPRESS AT BIRMINGHAM, ALA.

(Where bulk cotton is turned into bales.)

vances being made against corn or other grain crops. The fact that prices were from 50 to 100 per cent. higher than would have been the cash price counted not, for the planter had no cash. The more cotton he could plant the more credit he could get, and the less corn and bacon he raised the more Western corn and bacon he had to buy from his money-lender, known as commission man, or factor. The latter thus had a strong incentive to discourage a return to the older practices of producing food supplies and a necessary expansion of it with the growth of population. Before the war, the South was to some extent a buyer of Western corn and bacon, notwithstanding the fact that in 1860 it raised nearly one-half of the corn crop of the United States; but under this cotton-crop-lien system, the South's purchases of bacon and corn and flour in the West, according to the most reliable estimates that can be made, ran up to largely over \$100,000,000 a year, and it has probably averaged that much for the last forty years. Under this system, the farmer had a long struggle to get out of debt and on a basis where he could begin diversified farming. At last, however, he is getting out of the hands of the money-lender, and is steadily increasing the attention given to diversified agriculture.

#### THE VALUE OF COTTON LANDS.

The traveler from the North or West, accustomed to the grazing lands of those sections, and

not understanding the agricultural conditions of the South, often expresses surprise at what looks to him like very poor soil, which he sees in the hilly and pine-land sections of much of the South. He wonders how cotton-raising in these districts can support the growers, but he little understands the conditions. The cotton crop of 1901-02, including the seed, was worth \$530,000,000. It was produced on less than 24,000,000 acres, or an average value per acre of over \$22. The total wheat crop for same year, produced on 43,200,000 acres, was worth \$422,000,000, or an average of \$9.79 per acre; and the corn crop of the same year, raised on 94,000,000 acres, was worth \$1,017,000,000, or an average of \$10.82 per acre. The cost of raising cotton was, doubtless, more per acre than the cost for wheat and corn, but the difference was hardly as great as the difference in the value per acre. On the richer lands of the South, where a bale per acre can be raised by good cultivation, the value per acre would be from \$40 to \$50, according to the price of cotton, which would match the high yields of wheat and corn in the best Western farm districts.

#### NEGRO LABOR.

Owing to the fact that the negro, as an independent or as a tenant farmer, is not successful in producing as good results in agriculture as when, in slave days, his labor was directed by the planter or an overseer, much of his farming has



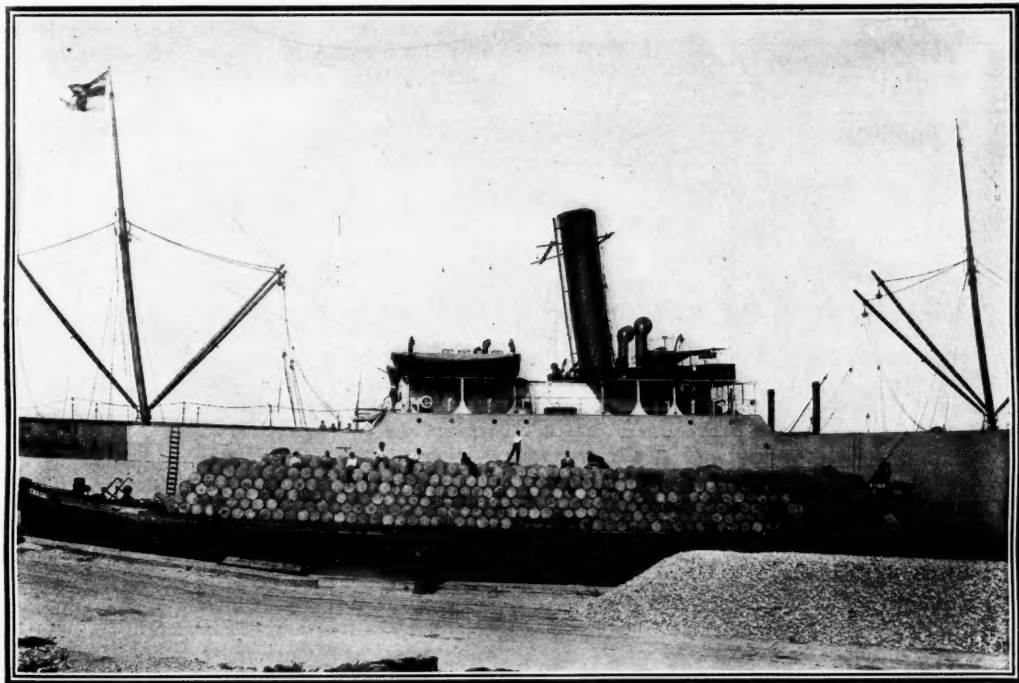


"ROUND BALES" IN THE STEAMER'S "SLING."

been unprofitable to him, and at the same time ruinous to the soil. He has not understood the value of raising his own foodstuffs, and as a yearly tenant, moving from place to place, he has not had much incentive to improve the soil, even if he had had the knowledge. His work has, therefore, made him every year a less important factor in the production of cotton. Absolute statistics of the relative amount of cotton produced by negro and by white labor are not obtainable,

but everywhere throughout the South, except in sections similar to the Yazoo Delta, the amount of cotton raised by negro labor in proportion to the whole crop is steadily declining. Such statistics as are available for a few districts bring this out very clearly.

Fifty years ago, defenders of the institution of slavery upon economic grounds thought that the production of certain staple crops of the South, especially cotton, depended absolutely upon the maintenance of slavery. Their reasoning was that the negro was necessary in the production of cotton, and that the best results could be obtained from him as a slave. Subsequent events have demonstrated the fallacy of the argument, even though the free negro is not yet as efficient in agriculture as was the slave under some one else's direction. The actual work of raising cotton was never exclusively in the hands of negroes. It is certain that since the passing of slavery their importance in this particular has tended to a steady decline. This is fully understood in the South, but not elsewhere. In 1739, in an English court testimony was given to the effect "that cotton grows very well in Georgia, and can be raised by white persons without the aid of negroes," and this has been true ever since, though many writers not familiar



TRANSFERRING 3,000 "ROUND BALES" OF COTTON TO AN OCEAN STEAMER AT GALVESTON, TEXAS.

with Southern conditions even yet suppose that almost the entire crop is raised by negroes.

#### COTTON MILLS IN SOUTHERN STATES.

The most striking phase of the cotton trade of the world of late years has been the development of cotton manufacturing in the South. A considerable mill industry was in existence in that section many years before the war, and its expansion was urgently advocated by some of the foremost public men of the times, not only that the South might have a home market for its cotton, but special stress was laid on the importance of creating employment for the poorer whites,—a class to whom the development of this industry during the last ten or fifteen years has proved a very great blessing. Living, as most of their class had lived generation after generation, on small hillside and mountain farms, without the possibility of finding other employment, cultivating a few acres of poor land not suited for general crops, their condition was most deplorable. With the building of cotton mills there came the first opportunity ever opened to them for profitable employment. The mill village has become the center of community life, of religious and educational advantages such as they had never known. The development of the cotton-mill interests of the United States is indicated in the following figures :

Census years.	Number of spindles.	Number of hands.	Capital employed.	Value of products.
1830.....	1,246,503	62,208	\$44,914,941	\$32,036,760
1840.....	2,284,631	72,119	51,102,359	46,350,453
1850.....	3,633,693	92,286	74,500,931	65,501,687
1860.....	5,035,798	122,028	98,585,209	115,681,774
1870.....	6,621,571	135,389	140,706,291	177,489,739
1880.....	10,768,516	174,659	208,280,346	192,660,110
1890.....	14,188,103	221,585	351,020,843	267,981,724
1900.....	19,050,952	302,861	467,240,157	339,200,320

In 1880, the South had 667,000 spindles, out of a total of 10,768,000, and its capital invested in cotton manufacturing was \$21,000,000,—a fraction over one-tenth of the cotton-mill capital of the country. By 1890, the number of spindles had increased to 1,700,000, and the capital to \$61,000,000, the capital then being over one-sixth of the total for the country, and the South had then, for the first time, come to be seriously regarded as a possible dominant factor in certain lines of cotton goods. The census of 1900 showed that in that year the South had 4,500,000 active spindles and \$112,000,000 of cotton-mill capital. At the present time the South has, in round figures, a total of about 8,000,000 spindles, representing an investment of between \$175,000,000 and \$200,000,000.

The relative growth of this industry in the

South as compared with other sections is shown by the following table, covering the consumption of cotton by sections and the total for the country :

Crop year ending August 31.	Consumption in Northern mills. Bales.	Consumption in Southern mills. Bales.	Total consumption in United States. Bales.	Total crop. Bales.
1850.....	475,702	87,067	562,769	2,171,706
1860.....	786,321	178,107	964,428	4,823,770
1870.....	806,690	90,000	896,690	3,154,946
1880.....	1,753,907	221,337	1,975,244	5,701,232
1890.....	1,739,258	546,894	2,286,152	7,311,302
1891.....	2,027,362	604,661	2,632,023	8,652,597
1892.....	2,190,766	686,080	2,876,846	9,035,379
1893.....	1,687,286	743,848	2,431,134	6,700,365
1894.....	1,601,173	718,515	2,319,688	7,549,817
1895.....	2,083,839	862,838	2,946,677	9,901,251
1896.....	1,600,271	904,701	2,504,972	7,157,346
1897.....	1,804,680	1,042,671	2,847,351	8,757,964
1898.....	2,211,740	1,231,841	3,443,581	11,199,994
1899.....	2,190,065	1,399,399	3,589,464	11,274,840
1900.....	2,068,300	1,567,112	3,635,412	9,436,416
1901.....	1,967,570	1,620,931	3,588,501	10,383,422
1902.....	2,050,774	1,937,971	3,988,745	10,680,680

In 1891, the consumption in Northern mills was 2,027,362 bales, and in Southern mills 604,661 bales ; in 1902, Northern mills consumed almost exactly the same quantity, having gained only 23,000 bales, while Southern mills had gained over 1,200,000 bales.

#### RELATIVE RANK OF THE UNITED STATES IN COTTON MANUFACTURE.

The number of spindles in the various countries of the world in 1891-92 and 1901-02, respectively, was as follows :

	Great Britain.	Continental Europe.	India.	Northern States.	Southern States.
1891-92.....	45,350,000	26,405,000	3,402,000	13,250,000	1,950,000
1901-02.....	47,000,000	33,900,000	5,200,000	15,000,000	6,400,000
Actual increase since 1892.. }	1,650,000	7,495,500	1,798,000	1,750,000	4,450,000

These figures show a total in 1891-92 in all other countries than the United States of 75,157,000 spindles, and in the United States of 15,200,000 spindles, as against 86,100,000 in all other countries in 1901-02 and 21,400,000 in the United States in that year. The gain in the United States in that period was 6,200,000 spindles, or at the rate of 40 per cent., while the gain in the rest of the world was 10,900,000, or 14 per cent. The actual increase in the South was 4,450,000 spindles, or 228 per cent., against an increase of only 1,650,000 spindles in Great Britain, or a gain of 3 per cent. During the last twelve months the increase in the number of spindles in the United States, especially in the South, has been very considerable, and while statistics are not available to show what increase has been made during the same period in Europe,

it is undoubtedly true that the United States is continuing its gain on the rest of the world.

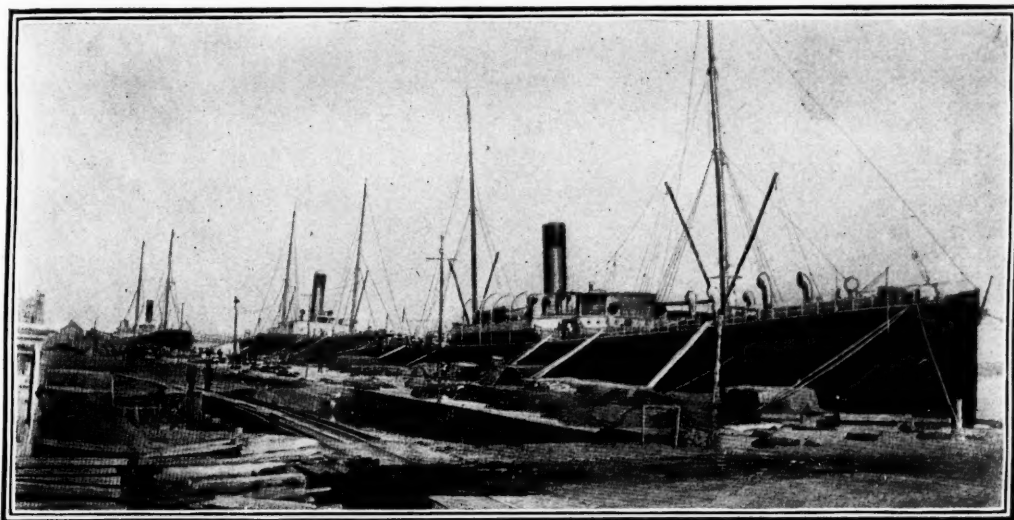
#### WHY DO WE SHIP RAW COTTON TO EUROPE?

While the largest expansion of the cotton-mill industry is in the South, this does not mean the decay of New England's mill interests. There is room for growth in both sections, certainly for New England to maintain its present cotton business by a steady tendency toward the finest products, even though most of the future growth should center in the South. There are about 110,000,000 cotton spindles in the world, and three-fourths of all the cotton used by them comes from the cotton-fields of the South; but that section, with all its progress, still has only 8,000,000 spindles. The entire country has only about 22,000,000. We are still shipping to Europe over 60 per cent. of our raw cotton every year,—almost as uneconomic as it would be to ship our iron ore instead of turning it into the finished product here. In 1900, there were 302,000 hands employed in the cotton mills of this country. On this basis the full utilization in our own mills of the ten and a half million bales we now produce would furnish employment to nearly a million operatives. For the control of this vast industry, employing a million people, probably two billions of capital, and producing about \$1,500,000,000 a year of finished goods, the South is now beginning to contend. It is a prize worthy the struggle, for it



THE WHITMAN COTTON-BALER.

is enough to enrich an empire. Add to the \$500,000,000 or \$550,000,000, the present value of the cotton and seed crop, the \$1,500,000,000 as the value of the finished product, and the \$125,000,000 as the present value of the product of cottonseed-oil mills, and the total of about \$2,250,000,000,—merely, of course, a rough estimate in round figures,—is the dazzling wealth which the South, by natural advantages, has the right to claim and the certainty of eventually winning.



OUR SECOND GREATEST SEAPORT,—COTTON SHIPS LOADING ON THE NEW ORLEANS WHARVES.



A "SNOW LOCOMOTIVE," USED TO DRAW LOGS DURING WINTER SEASON.

## A GREAT TRACTION MOTOR.

The variety of motors operated by steam, electric, and other power is remarkably large, ranging from the tractor used for farming and lumbering purposes on the Pacific coast to the motor cycle of one or two horse-power. In northern Michigan, however, one has been constructed and operated which is really a giant of its kind. It is known in the lumbering region where it is used as a "snow locomotive," for the reason that it has been used principally during the winter season in hauling loads of logs through the woods to the sawmill. The motor represents no less than 200 horse-power, and is capable of hauling 100 tons of weight through snow-beds which range from two to three feet in depth, and across a country where there is not even a footpath. Under these conditions, the locomotive will attain a speed varying between three and four miles an hour, according to the condition of the surface over which it is moved. Tests upon a hard and fairly smooth surface, such as packed snow or ice, show that it will develop a speed of six miles an hour, yet hauling 150 tons.

This tractor differs radically in design from others which are utilized for hauling heavy weights. It was constructed after the plans of Mr. George T. Glover, of Chicago, its inventor, and possesses some peculiarly interesting fea-

tures. The one illustrated weighs twenty-five tons, but is attached to the runners in such a way that much of its weight can be shifted to bear directly upon what is known as the traction wheel. This portion of the engine is a hollow cylinder of boiler iron, and is provided with a series of three-cornered teeth, which are set in rows upon its face. Each is fastened to the wheel independently of the others, so that it can be quickly replaced if desired. The wheel moves upon a hinged frame which automatically raises and lowers it as it moves over the surface, adjusting it to the inequalities of the route, while the teeth, continually gripping the surface, furnish a tractive force which permits the engine to move where a motor of much greater horse-power would be unable to stir.

A curious feature of this traction wheel is that the hollow drum is connected with a steam pipe through which is discharged the exhaust steam. This keeps the drum heated to a high temperature, and as it comes in contact with the snow it rapidly melts the latter material, which, as it is packed down, makes a firm surface for the runners of the engine and the trucks which follow it. In this way the motor literally constructs its own roadbed. The drum is, naturally, built very heavily, to withstand the hard usage it receives, the walls which support the

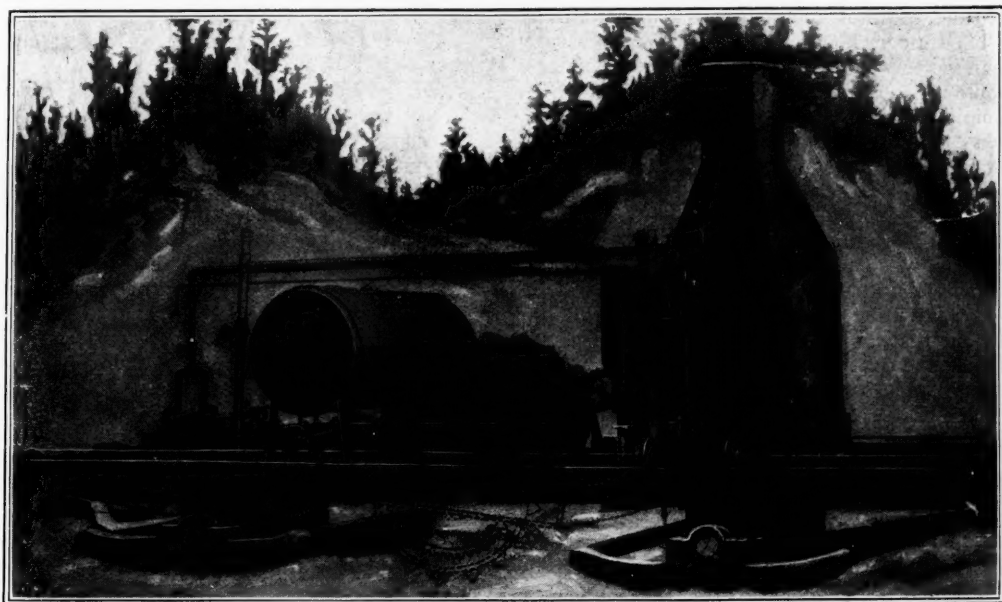


teeth being one and one-half inches thick. It is six feet in diameter, and weighs seven tons. When additional tractive force is desired, the weight of the engine is transferred to the drum by special apparatus. A powerful steam cylinder, called a "nigger," is so arranged that by merely pulling a throttle valve the engineer can operate it, with the result that the additional load is placed upon the drum almost instantly. The traction wheel is connected with the balance of the engine by gearing which represents three degrees of speed, and in this feature it resembles the ordinary pleasure automobile. The slow gear is used in starting the train, in ascending grades, and in places where the route is more than usually difficult. When the speed can be safely increased, the engineer uses what is called the fast clutch, which allows a rate of seven miles an hour if desired. By admitting more steam into the driving cylinders he can increase his speed accordingly. A rate of as high as twelve miles an hour has been attained by the locomotive with a light load.

Some portions of the forest where the snow locomotive has been in service are low and swampy, being partly covered with water in the spring, while in mild weather, in the winter season, the snow may cover the soft spots to a depth of several feet, thus offering little resistance. In

fact, it would be impossible for a team of horses to pass over some of these spots without being "mired." Tests of the strength of the snow locomotive have been made by forcing it through this marsh land, and, with the aid of the traction wheel, the experiments have been successful. It has been used at the end of the winter season by substituting wheels for runners. Even where the surface is largely composed of sand, it develops such traction that it can be forced through this material while pulling loads varying from fifty to one hundred tons. In fact, its performances seem almost incredible, considering the topography of the country.

This railless engine has been in use in the Michigan woodlands owned by the Alger Lumbering Company, and with it operations have been conducted in midwinter with little cessation. It has been placed in service not only to haul sledges loaded with logs such as those shown in the illustration, but for pulling the logs themselves through the woods and loading them on the sledges. This is done by attaching a cable to the log and pulling it to the top of the sledge. The number of logs transported, naturally, varies according to their size and the condition of the route, but the loads average from thirty to sixty tons, yet only three men are required for the train crew.



THE ENGINE OF A "SNOW LOCOMOTIVE," SHOWING TRACTION WHEEL RAISED.  
(Dotted lines show position when in operation.)

# THE RENOMINATION OF PRESIDENT DIAZ.

BY L. S. ROWE.

(University of Pennsylvania.)

THE nomination of President Diaz for a seventh term has been accepted as conclusive evidence that Mexico is an enlightened despotism in fact, whatever it may be in name. It is argued, with considerable force, that a country in which one man is able to wield almost unlimited power for a period of twenty-eight years can lay no claim to republican institutions. The fact that the renomination of President Diaz was a foregone conclusion, that not even the name of another candidate was mentioned, are circumstances cited to show how far Mexico has departed from the ideals of the framers of the Constitution of 1857 and the leaders of the reform movement of 1859. This view is the logical outcome of the attempt to apply to Mexican affairs the hard-and-fast standards of our own political development. Judged by those standards, no one would attempt to class Mexico as a democracy.

In order to grasp the significance of Diaz's dominant position we must apply totally different rules of interpretation. The true meaning of his influence and policy becomes apparent when we regard it as an attempt to prepare the people for the democratic institutions which the Constitution of 1857 attempted to introduce. That Mexico was unprepared for popular government at that time is now generally conceded. The political traditions of the country were those of absolutism, tempered by revolution. It was not only natural, but inevitable, that these traditions of absolutism should determine the character of the new institutions, and no one realized this more fully than President Diaz. His first aim, and one that he has constantly kept in view, was to allay the spirit of unrest that had taken hold of the population, and to repress with vigor, and even severity, any attempts to foment disorder. The crowning glory of his administration is the establishment of a respect for law and order which gives to Mexico an enviable position among the most advanced nations of the world. Person and property are now quite as secure as in any portion of the United States.

In order to accomplish this purpose within the short space of twenty-five years, it was necessary to resort to measures which seem harsh, and even cruel, when tested by the standards of our more advanced communities. The character of the

people was such as to call for a policy that should not err in the direction of leniency. With a population over 90 per cent. of which is of pure or mixed Indian blood, the task was one to make a man with less faith in the future of his people shrink with terror. That the mass of the people were illiterate was by no means the most discouraging factor in the situation. The fundamental requisite for the development of the resources of the country,—namely, the unity of national life,—was lacking. Even the imperial *régime* of Maximilian was unable to overcome the local jealousies and sectional spirit which arrayed sections of the country against one another. When President Diaz assumed control of affairs the Mexican people could hardly be called a nation; each section of the empire had its own customs, dialects, and system of laws. It was not until 1896 that freedom of trade between the different portions of the republic was established. Until then the states were constantly interfering with the freedom of commerce by the imposition of high tariff duties on goods coming from other states of the republic. These taxes, combined with numerous restrictive administrative measures dictated by local jealousies, greatly retarded the industrial development of the country.

The unification of the country was, therefore, the second great problem which President Diaz had to face. It is difficult for us to realize the obstacles that had to be overcome in order to secure anything like coördinate action among the states. The reestablishment of the republic under the federal form of government was accompanied by a marked increase of local jealousies and rivalries. In order to overcome these obstacles to progress the federal government was compelled to take a hand in local politics, and has practically succeeded in dictating the nominees for state governors. Through the state authorities thus made subservient, the wide differences between the legal systems of the states were gradually eliminated. The final result of these efforts was the enactment in 1884 of a Federal Code of Commerce and a Federal Mining Law.

These important steps toward the industrial and legal unity of the country have been the outward expression of a corresponding growth in the intensity of national feeling. To the mass



GENERAL D. PORFIRIO DIAZ, PRESIDENT OF MEXICO.

of the people President Diaz is the personification of the unity of the country ; in fact, to such a degree as to arouse some uneasiness in the minds of those who are striving to prepare the country for the time when a man of less strength than Diaz may be at the head of affairs. They all realize that the marvelous development of the economic resources of the country, and the gradual uplifting of the lower class which has accompanied this industrial advance, involves grave responsibilities which the country must be prepared to meet. The feeling of national unity must be developed to a point to make it independent of the existence of any one man or group of men.

The circumstances attending the nomination of President Diaz for a seventh term mark the first conscious and concerted attempt to prepare for these responsibilities. There is a settled determination among the property-holding classes that the reign of law and order shall not cease with the close of the present administration. General Diaz is now seventy-three years of age. At the close of his next term it is likely that the country will have to make a new choice, and it is for this transition period that preparation is now being made. The men who have played an important part in Mexican affairs realize that scattered individual effort is inadequate to meet the requirements of the situation. A national party organization is necessary which will assume the responsibility for the maintenance of those traditions of law and order which are so closely associated with the period of President Diaz's rule.

It is a matter of no little surprise to the foreigner that in a federal republic, whose institutions are modeled after those of the United States, party activity, and even party organization, are practically absent. The immediate cause of this anomalous situation is the overwhelmingly dominant position occupied by President Diaz. All classes of the population, from the poorest *peons* to the wealthiest land-owners, place such unbounded confidence in his ability to direct the policy of the country that there is no need for an organized party to rally to his support, and no room for an opposition party. That this situation has remained practically unchanged during the successive terms of his administration can only be explained by the fact that the political education of the people has not as yet reached the level which the democratic political system adopted in 1857 demands.

In the nominating convention of the Liberal Union party, which assembled in the City of Mexico on June 19, the political progress of the

last twenty-five years was clearly mirrored. Delegates from every state and territory of the republic assembled, not merely to renominate General Diaz, but to found a national political party, whose main purpose will be the maintenance of those traditions of law and order which have contributed so much toward the industrial advance of the country. Whether this party organization will lead to the formation of an opposition party remains to be seen. The indications are that no such party will be formed, inasmuch as it would have to take a position antagonistic to the present administration in order to find a reason for its existence. With such a platform it would be impossible to form a party, owing to the absence of any articulate opposition sentiment in the country. The only possibility is the formation of a conservative party, which would soon be forced into the attitude of the old clerical party. The resentment aroused by the confiscation of church property and the expulsion of the monastic orders might form the nucleus for a conservative or clerical party. But even here much of the bitterness has disappeared, owing to the spirit of fairness which has characterized the policy of President Diaz in his dealings with the Church.

The absence of an opposition party will probably lead to a split in the Liberal party between the radical and the conservative elements. Indications of such a division are already apparent. The most important speech of the recent convention emphasized the essentially negative and destructive work of the Radicals. It is likely that this radical element will be gradually eliminated from the councils of the party, and will form a new organization, gathering to its support the more rabid anti-clericals, as well as those who, for some reason or other, are dissatisfied with the present administration. The leaders of the Liberals realize full well that the formation of such an opposition party will be greatly to their interest, as it will enable them to strengthen party ties and discipline.

Whatever the future may have in store, the reassuring factor in the present situation is that the better element throughout the republic realizes the advisability of continuing President Diaz in office, and also the necessity of preparing for the time when either old age or death will make it necessary to place an untried man at the head of affairs. If a new President is able to depend upon the support of a strong party committed to the maintenance of law and order and to the repression of every tendency toward military despotism, there need be but little fear for the future of the republic.



# THE RACE PROBLEM IN THE UNITED STATES.

BY LYMAN ABBOTT.

A LETTER from a Southern correspondent informs me that there are sections in the South where no white woman can go out safely unattended, and some regions where she cannot even be left in her house unprotected, and that the peril from a certain class of negroes is so great that farmers, in considerable numbers, are moving into the towns for protection. I hope that my correspondent exaggerates the fears, and that the fears which he describes exaggerate the dangers. But, that these dangers are real, and these fears great, no student of contemporary history can question. The public apprehension amounts to an almost social insanity, inciting to lynchings accompanied with burnings and tortures, and to an incredible preservation of bones and other relics of the murdered wretches, which seem to demonstrate how much of the wild beast is still left in man notwithstanding centuries of evolution. What shall be done to protect the white woman from assault and the accused negro from lynch law?

In Alabama and Georgia, slavery has been revived under forms of law, and called peonage. It is soberly defended by the old slave argument,—namely, that the negro will not work unless he is compelled to work. Southern courts are dealing with this peonage in such fashion as to make us quite sure that it will not long survive exposure. But what is to be the future industrial condition of the negro in the far South?

An overwhelming majority, both in numbers and in influence, of Southern men have thus far given evidence that they accept the apothegm of Dr. J. L. M. Curry, that "ignorance is a cure for nothing." But there is a noisy though not very influential minority in the South who wish to keep the negro ignorant; either because his past education has been misdirected, or because they fear the industrial competition of the negro. Probably most of those who are familiar with educational conditions in the South are dissatisfied with them, and are of the opinion that the methods of negro education have not accomplished what was hoped from them. The negro is to be educated,—practically all men are agreed on that. How? On that question there is much serious disagreement.

The attempt to solve the problem of reconstructing society on a democratic basis by the simple expedient of establishing universal suf-

frage, thus giving to ignorance and idleness political power equal with and in some sections superior to that possessed by intelligence and industry, has proved the failure which the wiser men of the nation prophesied it would prove when it was initiated. Universal suffrage has few advocates in the South, and a lessening number of advocates in the North. But what should be the basis of the political organization of the future is not so clear.

Such are some of the questions involved in the so-called "race problem." In this article I propose, first, to define that problem, and then to indicate in outline certain fundamental principles which must be kept in mind by the nation in the attempt to solve it.

What, then, is our race problem, stated in its briefest form? We have in this country, speaking in round numbers, sixty millions of whites (a little more than that) and ten millions of blacks (a little less than that). What are to be the relations between these sixty millions of whites and these ten millions of blacks? What are the duties which these sixty millions of whites owe to these ten millions of blacks? The problem as it presents itself to us in America is practically a new one. It is, indeed, nothing new in the history of the world to have two races living side by side,—one superior, the other inferior. But in the past, whenever two such races have been brought into the same community and put side by side, one of three things has happened: the superior race has exterminated the inferior race, as the Israelites practically exterminated the Canaanites; the superior race has subjugated the inferior race and held them in bondage, as the white race subjugated and held in bondage the black race in this country; or the two races have intermarried, and out of the intermarriage a third race has grown up, as by the intermarriage of the Normans and the Anglo-Saxons the present English race has grown up. Neither one of these solutions is possible for us, in this country. It is true that some of our black fellow-citizens may be sent as colonists to Liberia, if they wish to go; but it is not true that colonization can solve or approximate a solution of the problem. We cannot exterminate the negroes nor drive them from the country. Christian principle, religious instinct, economic need, the patriotic impulse,—all combine

to say that the negro will remain on American soil. We cannot expect that out of the inter-marriage of the two races a new race will spring up. Amalgamation deteriorates certainly the one and probably the other race. It is against the instinct of black and white alike. We may dismiss the notion, which very few if any entertain, that out of amalgamation a new race will spring into existence on American soil. As to subjugation, we have tried it, and it has cost us millions of dollars and thousands of lives, and we shall not try it again.

#### THE RACES MUST REMAIN SEPARATE.

The question, then, which presents itself to us is this: How can two separate races live together as separate races in the same community? It is not, how can a few black men live in a white community; nor how can a minority of white men live in a Black Belt, peopled by a majority of black men. It is, how in a great republic can two separate races, with the broad line of distinction between those two races maintained, live together happily and prosperously, in accordance with democratic principles. For let us not deceive ourselves by saying that the black man is a man. He is a man, but he is not simply a sunburned white man. The negro is a separate and distinct race. Let us not be guilty of the egotism of thinking that no man is a man who is not a white man, nor much of a man unless he is an Anglo-Saxon; that the white man and the Anglo-Saxon are the type to which all men must conform themselves. Nor, again, let us deceive ourselves by the term "equality." Whatever they may come to be in the future, to-day the negro race is the inferior race. For behind this Anglo-Saxon people there have been ten centuries of Christian education, and behind this African people there have been three centuries of slavery and unnumbered centuries of barbarism. If three centuries of slavery and unnumbered centuries of barbarism have at this time made this negro race equal to the Anglo-Saxon race, with its ten centuries of Christian civilization and education behind it, either the negro race was immeasurably the superior race by nature, or else there is no value in centuries of Christian education. The real question, then, for us is this, how shall these two races, one stronger in numbers, in wealth, in education, in inheritance, live together side by side as distinct and separate races?

#### THE NATION IS RESPONSIBLE.

And this is a national problem. The men of the North cannot rid themselves of it if they would; the men of the South cannot assume it

if they would. The North helped to bring these negroes to this country; the North helped to enslave them; they were held as slaves in the Northern States until self-interest reinforced conscience and humanity in demanding their emancipation. When the question came up, whether the North would allow the Southern States to go out of the Union and solve this problem for themselves when they said, You believe in freedom, we believe in slavery, therefore we propose to go out and take our three million slaves with us and solve the problem in our own way, the North replied, You shall not go out, you shall not solve the problem as you think best, you shall solve it as the nation thinks best. And the North cannot now disavow all responsibility for the problem and leave the Southern States to face the difficulty and bear the burden alone. The problem belongs to the whole nation; the whole nation must share in the solution; and it must be solved in accordance with the principles which have directed and the spirit which has inspired our national life. That spirit, those principles, are embodied in the three words,—Liberty, Equality, Fraternity.

What do these words mean? What did our fathers mean by them?

By liberty they meant the right of every man to a free and full development. Feudalism denied this. Under the feudal system, he who was born a slave remained a slave; born a trader, he remained a trader; born a landed proprietor, he remained a landed proprietor. In this country, no man's status was to be fixed by his birth. Every man was to be free to make of himself what he could, unhindered by the traditions of the past. By equality, our fathers meant the equality of all men before the law. Under the old feudal system, there was one set of laws for the serfs, another set of laws for the proprietors of the serfs; one set of laws and one set of courts for the ecclesiastics, another set of laws and another set of courts for the laity. In this new government, there were to be no differences: the rich, the poor, the wise, the ignorant, the high, the low, were to be subject to the same laws, and were to be brought before the same tribunals. By fraternity, our fathers meant a democratic extension of the old principle of *noblesse oblige*. Under the feudal system, every man of the nobility counted himself under obligation to others of the nobility; every man owed a duty to the neighbor in the circle in which he moved. Under the new democratic system, this obligation was to be universal; every man was to recognize in every other man a brother. Mutuality of interest, mutuality of service,—this was to be the fundamental princi-

ple in the new republic. Liberty—of development; Equality—before the law; Fraternity—a common fellowship binding all together: this was the spirit of the new country. Our race problem must be solved in accordance with this threefold principle, by the application of this threefold spirit.

"LIBERTY" FOR THE NEGRO IN THE FULLEST  
SENSE.

It must be solved in accordance with the spirit of liberty. The negro must have the right to the fullest, freest, largest development. He must not be shut off to a particular vocation; he must not be told that he can be only a hewer of wood and a drawer of water; he must not be set aside to particular and subordinate employments; he must not be brought again under any form whatever of bondage. He must be a free man. The argument in favor of the system of peonage is, in a word, that the negroes will not work in the Black Belt, "and,"—I quote the words of a defender of the system,—"if we do not make them work, they will not work at all, and we shall be bankrupt." What is this but putting money in one scale and manhood in the other? And whenever manhood is put in one scale and money in the other, the manhood outweighs the money. Character is worth more than millions. It were better to bankrupt the nation in money than to bankrupt an ignorant race in character. Americans will never consent to see slavery reestablished on this continent and under their flag because it is pronounced peonage.

EQUAL RIGHTS BEFORE THE LAW.

The problem must be solved in accordance with the principles of equality before the law. What the principles of our Declaration of Independence demand, what the principles of our Constitution demand, what the spirit of our nation demands, is all summed up in the direction of the old Mosaic code to the Jews, "Thou shalt not respect the person of the poor nor honor the person of the mighty: but in righteousness shalt thou judge thy neighbor." Neither prejudice for the rich nor against the rich, neither prejudice for the negro nor against the negro, has any place in the administration of justice. If there be a reason why certain crimes should be punished with exceptional quickness and by summary measures, if there be a reason why some criminals should not wait the slow processes of ordinary criminal jurisprudence,—and there is a great deal to be said in favor of that proposition,—the summary proceedings and the expeditious justice must be applied as rigorous-

ly and as expeditiously when the white man is a criminal and the white woman is a victim as when the black man is a criminal and the white woman is a victim. There must not be one law for one race and another law for the other race. If America should ever conclude to adopt burning to death as the punishment for the crime against womanhood,—and I think there is nothing to be said for that proposition,—it must also be applied equally to the black man and to the white man. We must not have a law in this country which burns to death one criminal and hangs, imprisons, or sets free another for the same crime. The character of the crime does not depend on the race or color of the criminal.

Equality means equality before the law; equal justice to all men. It does not mean equality in character nor in function. It does not mean that all men are of equal height, or of equal weight, or of equal muscular strength, or of equal brain development, or of equal virtue, or of equal intelligence. It does not mean that all men are to exercise the same function in society; that all men are to be farmers, or doctors, or merchants, or preachers, or lawyers, or governors. It does not mean that all men shall be sheriffs or constables, executing the law; or legislators, framing the law; or voters, determining what the law shall be. That our fathers did not think that equality meant universal suffrage is evident from the fact that when the Declaration of Independence was adopted there was not unlimited and unqualified suffrage in the colonies. In some of them the suffrage was conditioned on religious qualifications, in some on intellectual qualifications, in some on property qualification; in nearly if not all of them suffrage was conditional. All that we have a right to ask, all that the principles of our government ask, all that the spirit of our forefathers asks, is this,—that there shall not be one political standard for one race and another for another. One man may be six feet high, and another five feet high; all we demand is that they shall be measured by the same yardstick.

THE FRANCHISE IN THE SOUTH.

Six Southern States have recently passed constitutional provisions respecting suffrage. In every one of these States the constitution, as adopted, allows any man, black or white, to vote, provided he owns three hundred dollars' worth of property and can read and write the English language. What is known as the "grandfather" clause, and what is known as the "veteran" clause, are temporary clauses, which will have expired by the close of this year, except in one

of the States.\* The effect will remain for a longer period, but the effect is also temporary. The permanent provisions in these constitutions are not unjust. It is not an injustice to say to any man in this country, "You must own three hundred dollars' worth of property, and you must be able to read and write the English language, before you can vote." We may think it expedient, or we may think it inexpedient, but it is not an injustice. Under the Constitution, every State is free to settle its own conditions of suffrage, subject to the one clause provided by the Fifteenth Amendment, that the same conditions must be applied to black and white alike. It is not an injustice to say in Alabama or Mississippi, it would not be an injustice to say in New York City, and it is by no means certain that it would not be a benefit to that not always well and wisely governed city if it were said, that no man shall vote unless he possesses three hundred dollars' worth of property and can read and write the English language. It is said that though these provisions of the Southern constitutions may be just, they are not justly and equally enforced; that, although the amended constitutions allow the negro to vote if he can read and write, and if he owns three hundred dollars' worth of property, the people will not allow him to vote. Probably that is true in many sections of the South; certainly it is true in some sections of the South. What is the remedy for that?—not for illegal provisions in the constitution, but for illegal and unjust enforcement of legal provisions in the constitution. These are not identical questions. Is this a righteous constitution? Yes. Is it righteously enforced? No. The remedy for an unrighteously enforced law is one thing, the remedy for an unrighteous law is, or may be, very different. The remedy for the unrighteous enforcement of the suffrage laws in the South, in so far as it exists, brings me to my third point.

#### FRATERNITY BETWEEN THE SECTIONS.

The spirit of this nation is expressed by these three words, Liberty, Equality, Fraternity. We need for the solution of the race problem fraternity both between North and South, and between black and white. The remedy for illegal execution of legal and just provisions is to be

\*The grandfather clause provides that all who could vote in 1866 and their direct descendants may vote, provided they are registered prior to a certain specified date; the veteran clause provides that all who have fought in any war of the United States, or between the States, may vote on the same condition. The time for such registration has already expired in some of the States, and will have expired in all, except North Carolina, on January 1, 1904. In North Carolina, it operates for about five years more.

found, primarily, in the recognition of that word fraternity, and in maintaining the fraternal spirit between North and South. We, in the North, have been excessively credulous about the ability of the uneducated negro, and excessively skeptical about the virtues of the educated white man in the South. There are considerable classes of men in the South who are as strenuously opposed to injustice and inequity toward the negro as any man in the North. There are considerable classes in the South who are as strenuous believers in Liberty, Equality, and Fraternity as any man in the North. They do not believe in universal suffrage; they do not believe that the ignorant portion of the community should dominate the intelligent portion of the community; they do not believe in amalgamation and social equality; but they do believe in these three great principles,—Liberty, Equality, Fraternity. They may be in a minority. That is not material. Majorities do not rule. Virtue, intelligence, justice, rule. If there are a few men brave, courageous, honest, true, in these Southern States,—and certainly such there are,—who believe in Liberty, Equality, Fraternity, those in the North who believe in these principles should strike hands with their fellow-believers across that vanished Mason and Dixon's line, and work in coöperation and combination with them for the solution of this problem which confronts us. All the sinners are not in the South; all the saints are not in the North. The remedy for this problem is Christianity; but it is not pharisaism; and there are many persons who mistake pharisaism for Christianity. The remedy for this problem is not going into the South with "I am holier than thou, and I am wiser than thou, and I am a greater lover of liberty than thou, and I am a greater philanthropist than thou, and thou must follow my lead." The remedy is to find the honest and true lovers of Liberty, Equality, and Fraternity in the South and work with them, more ready to follow their lead than to ask them to follow ours. For they live where the problem must be wrought out. If there were but a few,—there are, in fact, many,—who believe in the free development of the negro, in the equality of the negro before the law, in the spirit of fraternity that is helpfulness toward the negro,—it would still be for us to say to them, "Lead you the way; we will work with you, we will follow you."

#### WHAT WE OWE TO THE BLACK MAN.

Fraternity means fraternity between North and South; it also means fraternity between black and white. We owe something to this col-



ored race. We owe it because they are men. We owe it because they are our fellow-citizens. We owe it because they are loyal. We owe it because not yet, I believe, in a single case has one of them been found to raise a hand against the American flag, and many have been found to suffer and to die for it. And what we primarily owe them, apart from that liberty and that equality which is every man's right in this country, is education. First, primary and industrial education. Sixty-five per cent. of the negroes cannot read and write. It is safe to say that 80 per cent. of the negroes are industrially dependent on their white neighbors; it would probably be safe to say that 90 per cent. are. Dr. DuBois, of Atlanta University, is not a man who tends to juggle with figures in the interest of opposition to the negro race, and he tells us in his recent book, "The Souls of Black Folk," that in the Black Belt 10 per cent. of the negroes may be regarded as intelligent, 9 per cent. as hopelessly vicious, and the remainder as more or less shiftless, ignorant, and dependent. What is needed in a society in which 9 per cent. are hopelessly vicious, 81 per cent. shiftless, ignorant, dependent, and only 10 per cent. intelligent? Its first and most pressing need is an education which will teach men so to use their hands and their brains that they can earn a living; an education in industry, economy, thrift; an education in those primary lessons which most of us Anglo-Saxons

were taught in our great-great-grandfathers; an education which will impart those virtues which we have inherited from a remote ancestry. Industrial education,—the sort of education for which Dr. Booker T. Washington has been pleading and is pleading to-day,—is their greatest need, and this therefore is our first duty toward them.

But that is not enough. If this African race is to live as a separate race, if it is not to be amalgamated, nor to be subjugated, nor to be exterminated; if it is to live here, ten millions of people, separated by race lines from seventy millions that surround it, then this race must have its own lawyers, its own doctors, its own preachers, its own teachers, its own authors, its own leaders, and this means higher education for the few as well as industrial and primary education for the many.

"He that will be greatest among you, let him be servant of all." That is what brotherhood means. By just so much as we are richer and stronger and wiser than this race coming out of the barbarism of the past, by so much we, their elder brother, owe them every help in our power to rise to a higher and nobler manhood. By just so much as we of the North are richer and stronger than our fellow-citizens in the South, by just so much we owe to them a hearty co-operation in the great problem which is remote to us, but imminent to them; which is a problem to us, but is a life-and-death struggle to them.

## THE NEGRO PROBLEM IN SOUTH AFRICA.

BY ARTHUR HAWKES.

[The article that follows is a fresh chapter of impressions from the pen of an Englishman now visiting South Africa to note conditions after more than a year of peace. Its glimpses of the position of the black natives are none the less valuable for being mere side-lights. It seems to us especially worth reading in connection with the article by Dr. Abbott that precedes it. The very fact that we are prepared in the United States to discuss the race question on so high and serious a plane is evidence that the negroes here have made vast progress when compared with those under the jurisdiction of white men, whether of English or Dutch blood, in South Africa. In the spirit they show toward the blacks, most of the white men of South Africa are less tolerant and less considerate than were the American slave-owners half a century ago.—THE EDITOR.]

THERE is no country like South Africa in the heavens above or anywhere else. "We are all oligarchs here," said a high official whose experience of South African administration is unique among living men, and who was trying to explain to me the impossibility of a stay-at-home understanding South African progress. Leader-writers used to say "oligarchy" when they were killing Krüger in the press. They would have been astonished to hear my distin-

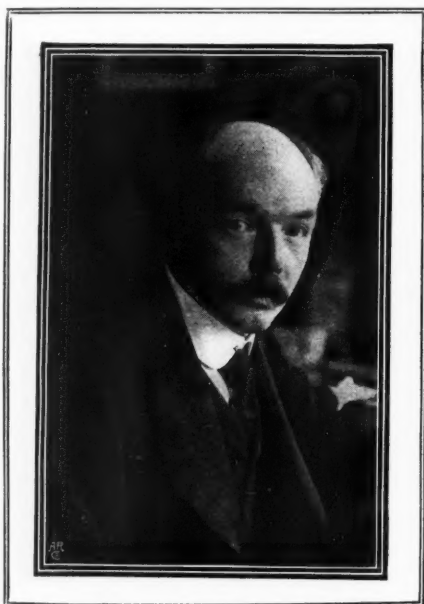
guished instructor say it about his fellow-countrymen and mine. According to him, South Africa is without the basis of society which has given rare stability to the home population, and which is the first fundamental distinction between Australia and South Africa. In Australia, the white man is his own laborer, not because he likes the job, but because he is afraid to invite a brown man to do it for him.

In Africa, it is of such vital importance to

teach the benighted black the dignity of labor that the white really hasn't time to carry his own bricks. If he lays them, he has paid copious homage to the blessedness of example. The white servant is not above his lord; but he is miles above his lord's colored servant. And so he is an oligarch. He carries his head like a man. He is as independent as the immortal framers of the American Declaration of Independence, which asserted that all men are born equal, and forgot the poor relation whose toil did not even bring him pocket-money.

#### THE NATIVES.

The poor relation is an indispensable nuisance in South Africa. He was there first; and Mr. Benjamin Kidd's dream of edging him over the Zambesi is not within the region of practical politics. He is not given to theorizing. But he understands the multiplication table. Israel is in Egypt, only the other way on. You have not completely defined your ethical position toward him when you call him a man and a brother; for somebody is sure to ask you how you would like him for your brother-in-law. The prospect of being uncle to a band of mulattoes would

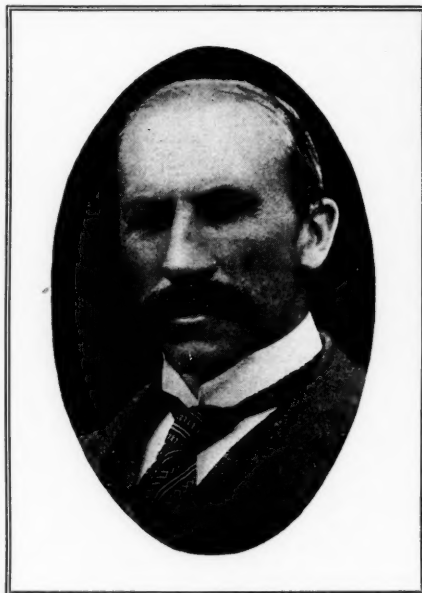


DR. JAMESON.

(Now leader of the Progressive party, Cape Colony.)

surely be enough to upset your temper and make you doubt the sufficiency of grace in time of need. It is no crime to be black. Neither is it an inducement to close communion on a hot day.

A friend of mine in Natal who would boldly undertake to settle racial questions which a two-hundred-and-twenty-million war didn't finally dispose of confessed himself floored when I



LORD MILNER.

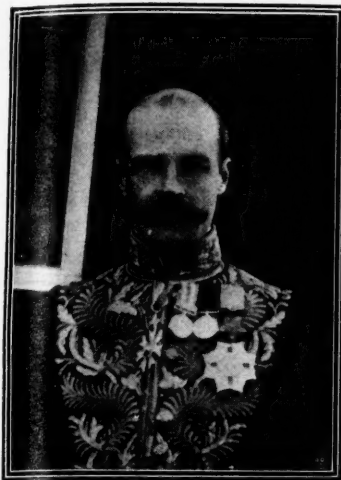
(Governor of the new crown colonies.)

asked him how to treat a colored literary man who was coming to meet me in a town strange to both of us. "It wouldn't do to go to an hotel," he said. "What would you do, then?" Well, he was hanged if he knew!

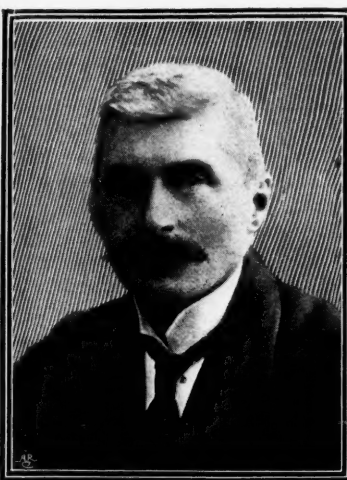
I applied for advice to a gentleman learned in the law and practised in Christian duty. He was as puzzled as my other friend. Finally, he suggested that possibly the negro and myself might find a minister of the Gospel kind enough to play Good Samaritan to both of us. What happened I won't stop now to tell.

All this, I dare say, sounds queerly to people who, like myself, were nurtured on missionary meetings. We needn't argue about the propriety of drawing a color line. It is there, and there isn't in all Africa a man bold enough to believe that it will ever be obliterated. There is only a limited similarity between the negro question of America and that of South Africa. In America, for instance, he speaks "God Almighty's own language."

A Colorado friend traveled with me from Cape Town to Johannesburg. For a generation he has employed negroes on all sorts of building work in the United States. He is used to them;



Sir Arthur Lawley.  
(Lieutenant-Governor of the Transvaal.)



Major Gould Adams.  
(Commissioner of Orange River Colony.)



Sir Hely Hutchinson.  
(Governor of Cape Colony.)

SOME LEADING BRITISH REPRESENTATIVES DEALING WITH THE NEW PROBLEMS OF SOUTH AFRICA.

he never said an uncharitable word about them. But when he had seen all sorts and conditions of them where they are indigenous, he summed up his impressions in one sentence, "Well, I never want to see another nigger as long as I live."

#### A CIVILIZATION TEST.

The most courageous word that was spoken for the negro while I was in South Africa was Lord Milner's speech to the Municipal Conference at Johannesburg. He spoke neither as the governor of the new colonies nor as high commissioner for the whole of British South Africa, but as "a friendly old gentleman with a certain amount of political experience." Prospectively, he suggested that the test of fitness for the municipal franchise should be civilization, not color.

He knew that the popular sentiment of Johannesburg and of the two colonies was against him. But he stated the case for the lettered black with absolute fearlessness. Theoretically, and apart from its relation to the Vereeniging terms, Lord Milner's position is unanswerable. Practically, it has scarcely any friends. When it was submitted to the Legislative Council at Pretoria, only one unofficial member blessed it, and the government withdrew its proposal.

#### YOU PAY THE PIPER, WE FIX THE TUNE.

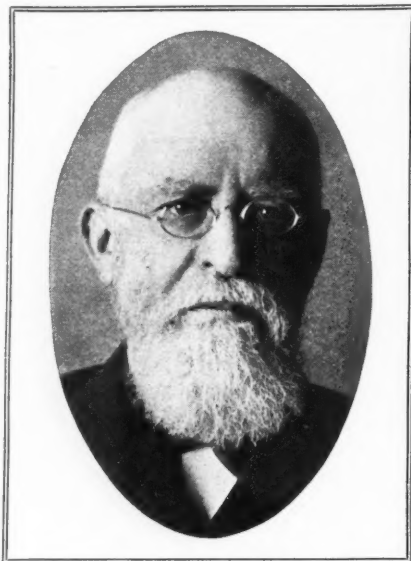
Certain patriotic Englishmen declare that as the old country has to pay for the war, it is going to be master when native policy is settled

in South Africa. There are two certainties in connection with that attitude. The first is that the old country will for generations be paying for the war. The second is that the old country will not be permitted to dictate South African native policy. Let Downing Street try; it will raise a storm in Africa which it cannot calm. There are South African imperialists who cannot understand how sane Britishers can think of granting home rule to Ireland. They are even more unable to understand how any sane Britisher can imagine that he may dare to deny home rule to South Africa, especially with regard to dominion over the Kaffir.

Don't run away with the idea that your fellow-Christian in Africa is an incipient Legree. He knows the Kaffir much better than he knows the Ten Commandments. He deplores the ability of the Kaffir to copy the white man's vices without emulating his virtues. He will tell you how, a generation ago, he would send a raw nigger forty miles to a bank for workmen's wages, sure that he would not even be tempted to dishonor his trust. He will not repeat the deed in the twentieth century. While you are trying to think out the significance of this, he will announce to you that 95 per cent. of the black convicts whom you see working on the road or harbor works are Christianized Kaffirs. Straightway you are thankful that, so far, your dealings with the native problem are chiefly confined to settling up with rickshaw boys.

## WHAT'S TO BE DONE WITH THE KAFFIR?

What will South Africa do with her negroes? I don't know. South Africa doesn't know, and doesn't profess to know. On this question, more, perhaps, than upon any other, my countrymen consciously place their trust in Providence. Sufficient for the day is the Kaffir thereof. An English parson put it to me like this: "If we give the Kaffirs plenty of liquor, we shall have no trouble. If we deny liquor to them, we shall have a frightful problem to deal with." As there are ten blacks in Natal to one white,



MR. JAN HOFMEYR.  
(Leader of the Afrikaner Bond.)

as nearly every native woman you see has a tail of three or four youngsters, as large families are not the rule among the British-born, the terrible problem is sure to come, for unlimited intoxication is in no man's creed.

The Kaffir is a child. During the war, he was treated as a man, and paid three and four times as much as was given to long-suffering Tommy Atkins. To this aspect of patriotism the Kaffir applies the immutable principles of arithmetic. In Cape Town, he goes to work at nine, quits at five, and draws 4s. 6d. for the exercise with the air of a man who has done his employer a favor. It will take him some time to get rid of the notion that he is thrice as good as Tommy Atkins. When you see a gang of Kaffirs making a Johannesburg road, on about the same terms, you see that the gospel of the dignity of labor is still

imperfectly understood. They work part of the time, rest most of the time, and talk all the time.

## WHERE BRITON AND BOER ARE ONE.

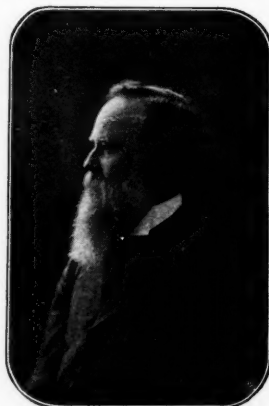
The South African Britisher concedes many merits to his neighbor Boer. The Dutch, he says, understand the Kaffir. Mr. Chamberlain has reached the same conclusion. Which means that on the question which underlies, overshadows, and encompasses all others in South Africa there is neither Briton nor Boer. Dislike their demeanor toward their poor relation as much as you please; but remember that on this matter there is substantial identity of views and conduct.

Go against their prejudices and experience, and you will contribute something to the fusion of the white races which every wise man so ardently desires.

It is a waste of good emotion to hope for any social equality between white and black in South Africa. I have seen an ordained clergyman walking in the gutter in a British capital because he dare not tread upon the causeway, not having a pass for such an honor. A self-denying worker in a Young Men's Christian Association discoursed to me about the Kaffir in terms which showed that his great apprehension for the future is that the Kaffir will get an idea that he has a capacity to rise in intelligence. But the Kaffir will rise. You cannot teach him the dignity of labor without helping him to do it. The Toryism which would have denied education to the common people in England would keep the Kaffir in perpetual babyhood. But the Almighty is against that kind of bondage. How, then, are you to give the Sermon on the Mount a chance to operate on your poor relation?

## NOVEL CHAMBERS OF EVOLUTION.

Missionaries, they say, are mistaken in thinking there are short-cuts from barbarism to high civilization. The ascent of black mankind is bound to be slow, even as the elevation of the white was. If he is cultured from his cradle, and resides in Piccadilly, he will hunger for the



MR. FISCHER.  
(Former Secretary of the Orange Free State.)



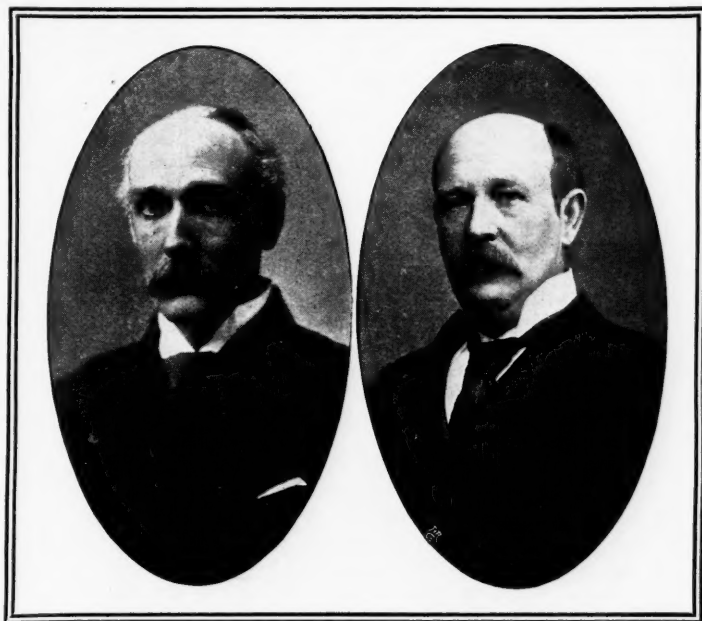
kraal even as young inland republics hunger for the sea. But the black is coming out of the darkness of savagery into the marvelous light which beams from Europe. Rand mines are veritable chambers of evolution, and compounds are resting-places on the road to that beneficent independence of honest endeavor which will some day be appreciated even in Belgravia.

When Adam had foolishly unlocked the secret of knowledge of good and evil, the first lesson he had to learn was to eat bread in the sweat of his face. The all but naked Kaffir who comes to Johannesburg is not far from where Adam was before he became a father. His more advanced brother is apt to place himself in competition with his white benefactor. That will never do. The need for helping the black is as great as the most fervent orator of Exeter Hall asserts it to be. It is so big that every ounce of civilizing power that is generated in a negro's character must be spent on his fellow. The best friends of England in Ireland declare that the root blunder of English rule over there is the attempt to make bad Englishmen into good Irishmen. There is wisdom in the saying. So there is in the dictum that a dress suit cannot become a South African native all the time millions of his brethren are happy with the least possible additions to the clothes in which nature sent them into the world.

#### THE CAPITALIST.

The mine-owner is doing a divine work. It is not necessary to praise him for it any more than it is to congratulate yourself on having made the mistakes which have taught you the most valuable lessons in this life. The mine-owner, when he talks to himself, does not say he is a philanthropist to his Kaffirs. He is an unintentional evangelist of the gospel of clothes, all the same. A raw Kaffir from the East Coast buys a trunk with some of his first month's wages and asks the storekeeper to hold it for him. Next month he buys a suit and puts it in the trunk. So he fills the box with the outward symbols of civilization. In due time he takes it away, with

perhaps a trousers-stretcher or two. It makes you laugh to see his apings of Regent Street. But there is always something of the ludicrous in struggling gentility. The thing that matters is that Taste is awaking out of sleep. In the mine, the seed of industry has taken root; and presently your Kaffir won't be satisfied to shiver in the cold morning air. His Rand experience is



MR. MERRIMAN.

(Introducer of the amnesty bill into the Cape Parliament.)

MR. SAUER.

(A prominent member of the Cape Parliament.)

all to the good, and no one need be anxious lest his employer make too much moral and intellectual dividend out of it.

#### THE EVANGELISTS OF THE GOSPEL OF CLOTHES.

The mine-owner is a human being. As a rule, the mine manager is more so. Both are worth something besides a bill of indictment. They have taught some Cape Colonists that it is dangerous to hurry to be rich. While the colonists recommend to one another the supreme virtues of simple living, they draw their chief governmental revenue from the railways, which would not have been there if the mine-owner had not exploited the reefs of the high veldt. Gold mining on the Rand is a real industry. Any notion that gold can be dug as easily as potatoes cannot survive a tour around a mine.

Of course, there have been capitalistic excesses in the Transvaal. There is enough wa-

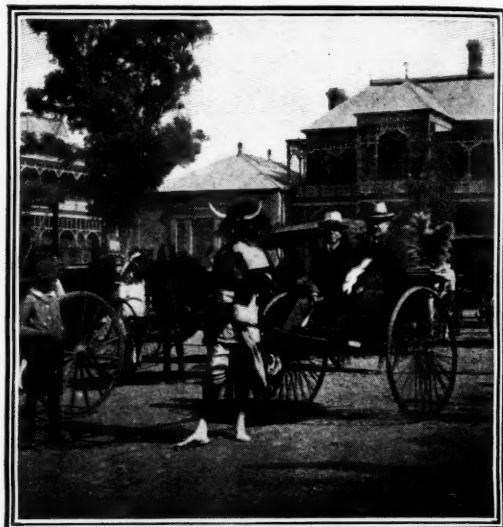
tered capital in the Kaffir market to drown the integrity of a whole school of divinity. But the Johannesburg stock exchange is not the only one in the empire where the Anglo-Saxon from Saxony is too much of a predominant partner. Swearing at him won't convert him. Nor will it teach him his place. He is a good servant, but a bad master,—chiefly the latter. The way to bring him into useful service is to recognize and exploit his good qualities, and to prove to him that political wisdom generally is housed among people who are not heavy-laden with this world's goods. The goldbug, as a rule, knows his own political disabilities better than his pure critic does. He deplores the absence of great statesmen from South Africa just as much as you do.

#### THE NEED FOR LABOR.

The millionaire called for war, and got it. A cynical Englishman has said, "The Uitlanders fought for their grievances, and they've got 'em." Cynicism and satire generally overshoot their mark. But the Uitlander was born to grumble, and though war destroys many things, it cannot stop a Britisher's growling. Abundance of labor on the Rand is still a long way off; and John Chinaman's shadow is beginning to terrify the land. It was predicted that British rule would soon tend to open up the country. So it has. Government has borrowed five millions for railway-building. But, bless you, to build railroads means navvies,—black navvies. Even a nigger can't be in two places at once. So when the government takes the Kaffir to make gradients, the mine-owner says that isn't playing the game. He has the first claim on labor, and the government should see that the country cannot live by railways alone. It is impossible to build British supremacy on the backs of only sixty thousand boys engaged for only a year each. Isn't this cool cheek?

#### THE DOMINANCE OF THE RAND.

It isn't cheek. It is hard necessity. Providence has decreed that the Rand is the first driving-wheel of South African twentieth-century progress. That is a fact which will never, never down. South Africa would have been bankrupt but for the birth of Johannesburg. South Africa is destined to be a great commonwealth. But it can only become such by way of much tribulation. Johannesburg is a synonym for tribulation. Which is another way of repeating that South Africa is unlike anything in the heavens above or the earth beneath. The foundation of Canada's prosperity and of her political grandeur was spread across the con-



RICKSHAS IN MARKET STREET, DURBAN.

tinient on farms whereon white men were and are their own laborers. So the way was made straight for developing the mineral wealth which is richly stored in the mighty Dominion.

Agriculturally, South Africa is a paradox. I traveled a thousand miles and saw not a single sign of a fine crop of cereals. The Western prairies will sustain millions of people, who only have to go there to be sure of bread and butter. But in South Africa, agriculture will develop on other lines. It costs ten dollars a week to feed a horse in Pretoria. There is plenty of fertile land in the country, but precious little water. When the mines are in full blast, there will be an overflow of prosperity to the land, and a family will be able to live on a much smaller estate than is possible to-day. Capitalism may have a special part to play in South African agriculture.

#### A TOP-HEAVY COMMUNITY.

Sir Percy Fitzpatrick described the position of Johannesburg to me in one word—"The community is top-heavy and needs to be steadied." He spoke the truth. The man who can make of Johannesburg the sure corner-stone of imperial South Africa will be he who can put the pyramid the right end up. If such a one arise, he will show the way to save the empire, at whose condition Mr. Chamberlain has taken the gravest alarm. When you have rescued the millionaire from himself, you have cracked the hardest nut in Christendom and Jewry.

# THE HEART OF THE BRITISH EMPIRE AND ITS SOUL.

A REVIEW OF CHARLES BOOTH'S NOTABLE BOOK.\*

LONDON is the heart of the British Empire. It has waxed mighty and great, greater than all the cities of ancient and modern times. But wherewith shall it profit if it have lost its soul? If the existence of its soul is to be inferred from the extent to which its citizens frequent meetings for prayer, it must be admitted to be in a very parlous state. For the one notable result of the recent *Daily News* census is the discovery that prayer meetings, which were once regarded as the vital breath of the life of the Church, have almost ceased to exist. In the populous borough of Chelsea, only thirty persons were found to be in attendance at prayer meetings. Thirty persons out of seventy thousand.

Week-night services have also fallen into disuse. The religious life of London is forsaking the accustomed channels of former days. Has religion itself dried up and disappeared? Or is London as religious as ever it has been—only in different fashion?

## HOW THE CENSUS WAS TAKEN.

The *Daily News* census is a notable piece of journalistic work. It is at least a good thing to know where we are. The census was taken in a very methodical fashion. Instead of being taken all over London on one day, the collection of the number of attendants was spread over more than six months. Each Sunday, the census was taken simultaneously at all the churches and chapels in one of the twenty-nine boroughs into which London is divided on one day, but no one knew which day was allotted to which borough. Four hundred enumerators were employed, one for each church door. Half the enumerators were called superintendents. Over the whole staff were thirteen inspectors, working under Mr. Mudie Smith, as registrar-general. These enumerators had to count every man, woman, and child entering places of worship in London, distinguishing between the sexes and between children and adults. They also, by an ingenious

system, discovered that 65 per cent. of the worshippers are the poor creatures called "oncercs" by Mr. Gladstone. Only 35 per cent. attend two services on Sunday.

## THE FIGURES OF THE CENSUS.

The net result of their numbering of the people as they entered places of worship is summarized as follows:

### MORNING AND EVENING TOTALS.

	Morning.	Evening.	Total.
Established Church.....	220,431	209,722	430,153
Nonconformist churches...	169,312	246,913	416,225
Roman Catholic Church...	73,680	19,892	93,572
Other services.....	35,310	27,680	62,990
Totals .....	498,733	504,207	1,002,940

### TOTALS FOR MEN, WOMEN, AND CHILDREN.

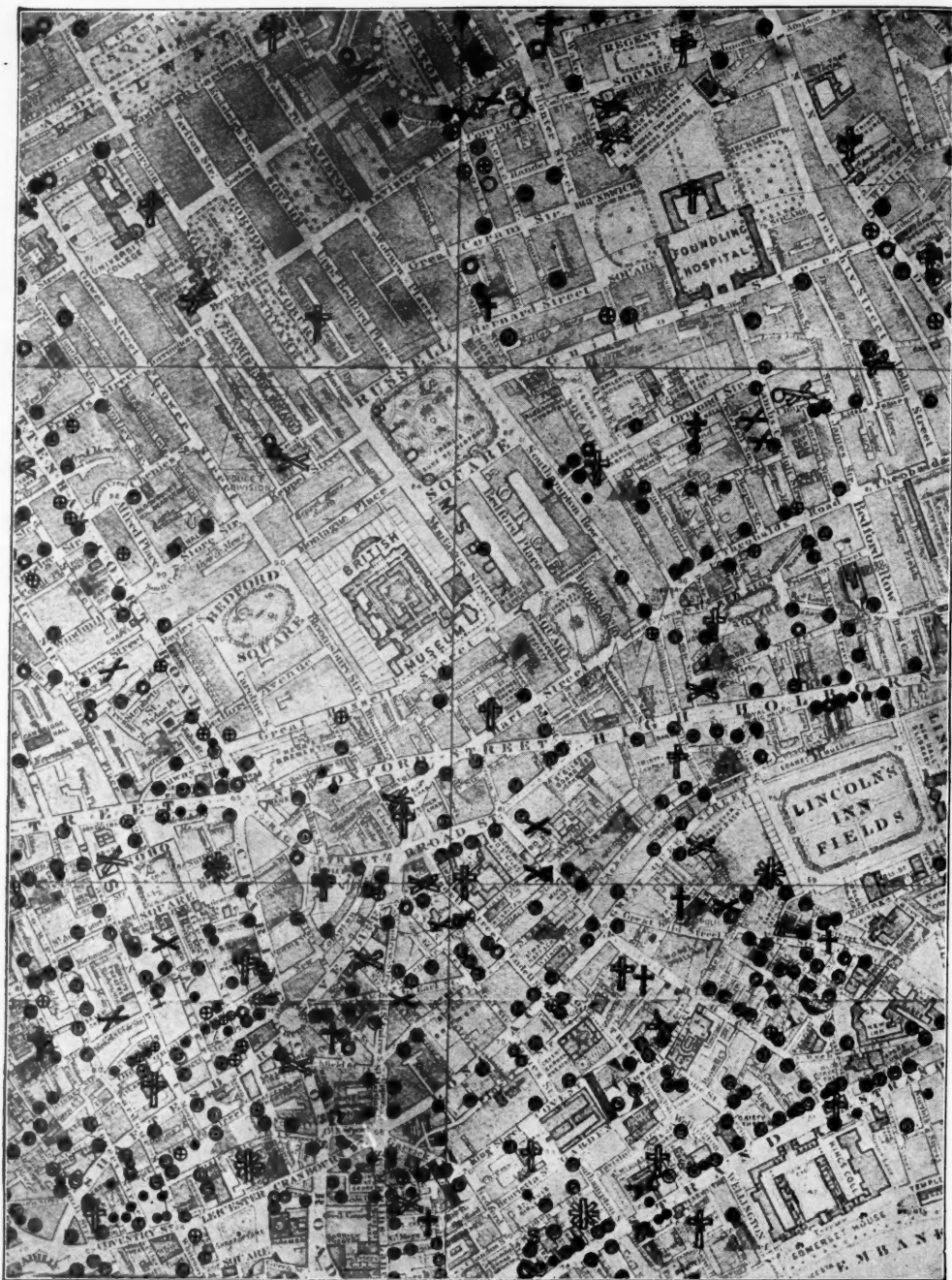
	Men.	Women.	Children.	Total.
Established Church.....	98,477	188,354	143,322	430,153
Nonconformist churches...	120,782	165,978	129,465	416,225
Roman Catholic Church...	23,855	42,774	26,943	93,572
Other services.....	23,436	15,887	23,667	62,990
Totals .....	266,550	412,993	323,397	1,002,940

It adds to the significance of these figures to know that the number of attendants at the Established Church is steadily sinking. The Church is numerically and comparatively worse attended than it was twenty-five years ago. Not all the fervor of the Tractarians has succeeded in arresting the drying up of the congregations of the Establishment. On the whole, the Nonconformists have held their own better than the Anglicans. But the ancient practice of not neglecting the assembling of themselves together in the worship of God is apparently on the wane among us.

A man need not be a Christian to regret this. In the remarkable volume in which Mr. Charles Booth sums up the results of seventeen years' close observation of London and its peoples, nothing is more remarkable than what its author calls "the great main fact" which no carping can touch, and to which "we have endless testimony," that "Christian people are nearly all temperate and thrifty, and the better in every

\* "Life and Labour in London." Conclusion. By Charles Booth. Macmillan & Co.

The *Daily News* Census of Church Attendance in London.



A PORTION OF MR. CHARLES BOOTH'S MAP OF LONDON, 1899-1900, SHOWING PLACES OF WORSHIP, ELEMENTARY SCHOOLS, AND HOUSES LICENSED TO SELL INTOXICANTS.

Roman cross=Anglican, in outline a church, solid a mission.  
 A double cross=Roman Catholic church.  
 St. Andrew's cross=Nonconformist, in outline a church, solid a mission.  
 A circle=beer-house with "off" license.

A double circle=beer-house with "off" and "on" license.  
 A double circle with dot in center=fully licensed house.  
 A circle with cross=grocers with license.  
 A solid circle=licensed restaurant without a bar.  
 A square=Board, and a triangle=Voluntary elementary school.



way for being so." If this be so, it is an ill look-out for London if year by year an increasing number of its population cease to be Christian even in name. Londoners will not be "better in every way" for losing their attachment to the one great agency which, Mr. Booth being witness, operates everywhere for temperance and thrift and the betterment of the people.

#### WHY THE CHURCHES FAIL.

The more we read of what Mr. Booth has to tell us, the more we feel dismayed at the symptoms of decay that are revealed by the *Daily News* census in the efficiency of the soul-stirring apparatus of modern London. For, although bright gleams of hope here and there irradiate the gloom, the picture which he gives us is on the whole a somber one. The evils which he reveals are those which the Christian Church was constituted to overcome, nor does he point to any other agency better fitted to carry on the struggle if the Church is dismissed as effete. It is true that the Church of Christ has largely forgotten Christ, and many of the evils described by Mr. Booth are never assailed in flank or in rear by the bodies which describe themselves as the armies of the living God. Mr. Mudie Smith, in summing up the conclusions which he deduces from his enumeration, lays the greatest stress upon the fact that the churches have all, more or less, abdicated their great function as ministering servants of humanity.

#### A SUGGESTION TO PREACHERS.

This leads us up to the practical question whether the preachers in the twenty-six hundred places of worship to be found in London to-day have done anything to bring before the million souls who listen to them every Sunday the conclusions which Mr. Charles Booth has arrived at in the course of his prolonged, patient diagnosis of the diseases of the body politic.

"Watchman, what of the night?" is a cry which often rises from the lips of every earnest waiter for the dawn. Here is a watchman who has given seventeen years of his life to find out and proclaim the truth concerning this Great Babylon in which we live. He has seen it with his own eyes, in its riches and in its poverty, in its grandeur and its crime, he has probed it in every part, he has dissected its living nerves, and he stands forth to tell us how things are, and, what is still more important, how things may, in his opinion, be mended. He is a prophet with a message. His prophecy is based upon scientific observation. His message is instinct with a hope born of knowledge and

experience. If the churches of London are going to take seriously their divine commission, they had better, one and all, from the Bishop of London and the Jewish rabbis down to the ethical societies and General Booth, take this concluding volume as the subject for their sermons at least once a week for the next six months.

#### THE SERVANTLESS MILLIONS.

London,—what is London? To begin with, London is a conglomerate of 800,000 families,—if we average five persons to a family,—of whom 666,000 have no servants. While only 95,000 families enjoy the luxury of a domestic servant, 3,371,789 persons,—men, women, and children,—wake every morning in London knowing that in the course of the day they will have to do all their own work with their own hands, while only 476,325, or 11 per cent. of the whole, are in a position to employ any of the 205,858 persons of the servant class. Of these 3,371,789 of the servantless class, nearly half a million are pigged together three in a room, while three-quarters of a million have half a room each; 354,000 belong to the very poor, 900,000 to the poor. The poor we have always with us, to the tune of 30 per cent. The poor and the very poor outnumber all the men, women, and children who find themselves, on Sunday, in church or chapel. There is no overcrowding in the house of God; but the houses of men are inconveniently full.

#### HOUSING SLOWLY IMPROVING.

Bad as things are,—and they are very bad,—hundreds of thousands being herded together in conditions which render decency and morality and a human life practically impossible, it is reassuring to be told that the statistics of overcrowding show considerable progress in the last ten years.

While one-room tenements have decreased from 172,502 to 149,524, or 14 per cent., three-room and four-room tenements have increased 16 per cent., 18 per cent., and 21 per cent., respectively. In every way, there is considerably less crowding than ten years ago.

No doubt there are still slums; but the worst are gone, and the present state of things cannot be compared with the squalor, misery, and neglect which prevailed thirty years ago.

Much has been done; but it is little to that which remains to be done. One of the most elaborate chapters in this book is devoted to a painstaking exposition of what ought to be done to improve the housing of the Londoners, and another to set forth that policy of expansion which is the only radical remedy.

## MR. BOOTH'S SUGGESTION TO BUILDERS.

There is only room here to note one of Mr. Booth's most characteristic recommendations:

I wish I could rouse in the minds of speculative builders a sense of the money value that lies in individuality, with its power of attracting the eye, rooting the affections, and arousing pride in house and home. Then would they seek to use, in place of sedulously destroying, every natural feature of beauty, and take thought to add others. A slightly greater width of garden on the sunny side, whether front or back, may make all the difference; a single tree left standing can glorify a whole street. Fresh painting and papering within is not the highest ideal; its charm passes; the other gathers force as the years go by.

## ARE LONDONERS BECOMING SOBER?

As to intemperance, Mr. Booth has much to say that is very interesting.

There is less drunkenness than formerly, and the increase in drinking is to be laid mainly to the account of the female sex. This latter phase seems to be one of the unexpected results of the emancipation of woman. On the one hand she has become more independent of man, industrially and financially, and on the other, more of a comrade than before, and in neither capacity does she feel any shame at entering a public-house. . . . Whether the people drink less or not, the police are practically agreed in saying that they are much less rowdy than formerly. . . .

## HOW TO DEAL WITH PUBLIC-HOUSES.

Mr. Booth's remedy would be, not prohibition, but improved public-houses. He wishes

To improve the conditions under which alcoholic drinks are supplied to all classes of the community, that the standard of propriety in these public places should not only be set as high as possible, but should everywhere at least equal, and in poorer neighborhoods rise above, that ordinarily obtaining in the homes. . . . Whatever the policy, we need a stronger and more vital authority to enforce it. For London, I would suggest that such an authority could be constituted by a small committee of the London County Council, with a permanent paid secretary sitting with assessors, who might be trained lawyers appointed by the home office.

Such a body, he thinks, would insist on several reforms.

The first of these will be for powers of local taxation by means of extra rating of the values created by the granting of licenses. . . . The next demand will probably be for placing all clubs or bars of clubs in which alcohol is sold under the same restrictions as the hours of public-houses; and, again, this will be even more necessary with a policy of unmitigated restriction.

As to the hours of closing, Mr. Booth says:

I still think that there would be a substantial gain for the cause of temperance in adopting an earlier hour, and should advocate 11 o'clock every week-night

(and in clubs the same), with further special consideration to houses which were willing to close at 10.

## LIGHT AND SHADE.

Betting, he thinks, is increasing both among men and women. On the other hand, we read:

Habits of thrift, it is said, must be improving. It would be impossible otherwise to explain the wonderful reserve power of the poor. The poor help each other more than any other class, and there must be resources of a greater extent than is realized.

Another bright side is revealed to us in the following extract:

Moral improvement among the people is immense, owing, mainly, to education; shown, among other ways, in kindness to animals. The day was (says an old resident) when no cat could appear in the streets of Bethnal Green without being hunted and maltreated; now, such conduct is rare.

## OLD-AGE PENSIONS.

When Mr. Booth comes to deal with the relief of distress and the organization of charitable relief, he seizes the opportunity to restate his plea for universal old-age pensions at the age of seventy:

I would make seventy the age at which a free and honorable pension should be granted to every one who up to then had not received poor relief (other than medical), and I put the amount at seven shillings per week, in place of the more generally adopted proposal of five shillings a week at sixty-five. Proof of age, nationality, and residence in England during the working of life would be required.

The abolition of out-relief is, I think, essential, and at the same time quite possible, if poor law and organized private effort will work hand in hand, and if the pension, which becomes in itself a great motive to thrift, is assured in the future.

Among the reforms which he thinks essential are:

An extension of the system of a common poor fund, subject to agreement as to the principles of administration; consultations between boards of guardians and charitable agencies as to the relief, and a distinct recognition of their respective spheres.

## MR. BOOTH'S BEST HOPE.

Surveying London as a whole, Mr. Charles Booth seems to see most ground for hope in the London County Council and in trade-unions. He says:

A new middle class is forming which will, perhaps, hold the future in its grasp. Its advent seems to me the great social fact of to-day. Those who constitute this class are the especial product of the push of industry; within their circle, religion and education find the greatest response; among them, all popular movements take their rise, and from them draw their leaders. To them, in proportion as they have ideas, political power will pass.

# THE NEW MOVEMENT FOR RELIGIOUS EDUCATION.

BY PROFESSOR FRANK KNIGHT SANDERS.

(Dean of the theological faculty of Yale University and president of the Religious Education Association.)

SO marked has been the advance during the last decade in an appreciation of the actual working conditions of religious instruction for all ages and classes, that both those who are theorists and those who actively participate in instruction are agreed in realizing that the current methods are unsatisfactory and unscientific and, not infrequently, irreligious. This is hardly more true in the Sunday school than in the day school, public or private. The crusade against the teaching of religion in our public schools need never have gained headway if the limitations as well as the possibilities of such instruction had been carefully studied.

The mistakes of the past are now seen with reasonable distinctness, the resources available to the earnest and thoughtful religious instructor in any field are more fully realized, and the time is clearly at hand when an organized attempt to develop religious education along broad lines may accomplish large and immediately practical results. A new organization is required for the important reason that none of those already in existence are in a position to deal with these problems in a comprehensive and satisfactory way.

## RELIGIOUS TEACHING IN THE COLLEGES AND UNIVERSITIES.

Much progress has been made in the last decade or two in the development of biblical instruction in the curricula of our educational institutions. In 1880, the matter was either ignored altogether or almost universally met by the provision that at a certain hour in the week each college or academical class should meet for instruction in the Bible, the regular faculty being depended upon to furnish the requisite instruction. At the present time, a dozen institutions of higher learning, not professional schools, can be named at which the very highest type of biblical study is made a part, usually elective, of the course for the degree of B.A.

In 1888, Yale University began to offer courses of biblical instruction on an equality in every respect with those of other departments, and purely for the sake of their value for general, liberal culture. Yale may or may not have been

the pioneer, and is certainly no longer exceptional in making such provision. At that time such a department was greatly hindered by the lack of appropriate reference literature or text-books. These are now being rapidly provided. The field for this sort of religious advance is, indeed, unlimited. There are few institutions of higher learning, not excepting the State universities, which cannot wisely and readily adopt such a series of courses on the history and literature of the Bible, of the Orient, and on the philosophy of religion as obtain in a few colleges. Such courses are absolutely without sectarian value, and are followed with enthusiasm by students of every shade of religious belief and of every form of historic faith. The Protestant, Romanist, Jew, Greek, or barbarian can find common historical ground in the class-room of an instructor trained in modern methods. There is, therefore, a large work of promotion possible in the institutions of higher learning, a work which demands the influence and support of such an organization as the Religious Education Association.

## BIBLICAL INSTRUCTION BY CORRESPONDENCE.

The field of correspondence instruction is one of magnitude and importance. Its possibilities for the promotion of religious education among people at large are just beginning to be fully realized. More than twenty years ago, President William R. Harper, then a professor of Hebrew at the theological seminary at Morgan Park, Ill., organized the American Institute of Hebrew, to give instruction by correspondence in Hebrew. This work was taken over by the American Institute of Sacred Literature in 1889, instruction being also offered to individual students in the English Bible. Soon provision was made for work for clubs and guilds, and so the work has steadily developed until, last year, the institute taught thousands of students. Moreover, such well-established institutions as the University of Chicago and Vanderbilt University deliberately utilize correspondence courses as a possible means of making progress toward a degree. The method is fully justified; it remains to use it to the utmost.

## A CLEARING HOUSE FOR EDUCATIONAL IDEAS.

Summer assemblies, or schools, have become a well-recognized auxiliary in education. They are multiplying rapidly, and rarely fail to plan to combine education with recreation. They afford a unique opportunity for the promotion of religious education, and are almost uniformly hospitable to its presentation.

Aside from these and other opportunities which present themselves to-day for a well-organized, well-balanced forward movement in religious education, and which call for the unifying and comprehending influence of a new organization, its relationship to the host of unrelated and unattached investigators of religious problems must not be overlooked. These are legion. They may be sincere and resourceful, but are often unable to get a public hearing. They are not infrequently possessed of valuable ideas which may or may not be workable in the form originated by them. The Religious Education Association, organized to promote investigation and discovery, will serve, through its proper department, as a clearing house for ideas, as a friendly critic, and as an indorser of plans which are sound.

There is, then, abundant room for an organization which may devote itself to the active promotion of religious and moral education, one which seeks,—to use the language of the resolution adopted by the convention of last February,—"to render such general assistance as shall increase the efficiency of all individuals and organizations now engaged in religious and moral instruction, serving as a clearing house for ideas and activities, unifying, stimulating, and developing all those forces which together can secure to religion and morality their true place and their proper influence."

## THE NEW ASSOCIATION AS A WORKING BODY.

Since the organization of the association at Chicago, on February 12, 1903, the executive board has been busy with the completion of the plans of organization, no easy or quickly managed task. The convention voted to adopt a constitution modeled on the lines of that of the National Educational Association, departing from the usages of that body in three important particulars,—a single board of directors, a large and fairly representative executive board, and departments organized for continuous service. As in that association, the executive board is given the responsibility for the management of the organization's affairs. The convention elected the president, sixteen vice-presidents, twenty directors at large, and an executive board of twenty-one.

Since its organization, the executive board has appointed two executive officers, thirty-nine State or provincial directors, and one hundred and thirty-three committeemen to be in executive charge of the sixteen departments of religious education at present organized: universities and colleges, theological seminaries, churches and pastors, Sunday schools, secondary public schools, elementary public schools, private schools, teacher training, Christian associations, young people's societies, the home, libraries, the press, correspondence instruction, summer assemblies, religious art and music. The organization is now complete with the exception of two executive officers,—the general secretary and the editorial secretary,—so important that the board has been as yet unable to announce permanent appointments. That no harm has resulted from this delay is due to the remarkably efficient volunteer service so far available. The council also awaits organization.

Meanwhile, the membership list has grown spontaneously and with astonishing rapidity. In June, at the time of the issue of the volume of proceedings, it had reached a total of thirteen hundred. It numbers now over fifteen hundred, and bids fair to be doubled, at least, by the end of the first year. A perusal of the list conclusively shows that the religious and educational strength of the country is already centering in the association. This gives ample reason to anticipate steady and important progress as a result of the movement. It is noteworthy that this association, within three months after its organization, had nearly one-half as many active members (with the same annual fee of two dollars) as the National Educational Association after its thirty years of illustrious history and unparalleled service to general education.

## PUBLICATIONS.

During these months, the executive board has published an attractive volume of four hundred and thirty pages, giving in full the history of the movement, leading up to the convention, the addresses delivered, the minutes, the constitution adopted, and the list of officers and members, with a convenient index. It is a handbook of the association in its initial year, but far more. The convention was one of the most significant and stimulating gatherings ever held. The addresses constitute a permanent contribution to the discussion of the weighty problems of religious education. The volume is unrivaled for interest, freshness, and continued value. The board has also issued a thirty-two-page pamphlet of information and the first number of a regular bulletin for mem-



bers.\* In July, at Boston, a meeting of the board of directors convened to hear a report from the executive board and to provide for the vigorous promotion of the work of the association in the months to come. It indorsed a wide observance of October 4 as "Bible Study Sunday," on which day the ministry will be urged to discuss "The Bible in Relation to Christian Life and to the Work of the Church;" it ratified the suggestions outlined for the immediate development of departmental work; it approved the plans for the next convention, and for securing a general secretary; it got together a body of about sixty officers, thirty-eight living outside of New England, and in many ways contributed to the strengthening of the movement.

#### RELATION TO THE PUBLIC SCHOOLS.

A well-defined programme for the future the association is unprepared to announce. It plans to make each annual convention the occasion for a noteworthy permanent contribution to the working literature of religious education. No pains will be spared to insure that the next convention, in March, 1904, will afford such a treatment of "The Bible in its Practical Application to Life." The association will do its constructive work through its departments, and should not anticipate their action. Each one of the sixteen is in charge of an important field, although public interest seems to be particularly centered upon the religious education of the young in the Sunday school, the day school, and the home. A great and puzzling problem is that of the elementary and secondary public schools. These departments are under the wise guidance of well-known men who are fully identified with public-school interests, and yet are in complete sympathy with an effort to reasonably promote religious growth side by side with mental training. These and other departments have organized, initiated investigations, and will be heard from as soon as there can be a judicious publication of results. An organization so far-reaching must make haste slowly, notwithstanding the natural desire on the part of the public for immediate reforms of all abuses.

#### ADOPTION OF SCIENTIFIC METHODS.

A factor of no inconsiderable value in the promotion of these interests will be the Council of Religious Education, as yet unorganized. It will be composed of sixty active members of the

organization, each one chosen as an expert, on the basis of his actual contributions to the cause of religious education. This body will give itself to the initiation, conduct, discussion, and completion of investigations, on the basis of which it will make authoritative recommendations. It will aim to develop theories, but not to be impractical. With the adjustment of theories to practice it may not concern itself, but rather with the adequate survey of data. A true theory can be readily adjusted to existing conditions; an inadequate induction is productive only of weakness.

#### THE APPEAL TO THE INDIVIDUAL.

The Religious Education Association welcomes to membership not only those who are actively engaged in the work of religious education, such as ministers, professional men, secretaries, or teachers, but every one who desires to make his or her influence felt in promoting a wise progress in religious and moral education. Great movements require the coöperation of many unselfish individuals, who never ask for personal recognition. The right solution of the problems which press for consideration to-day can only be reached when good men consent to think and plan together along broad, unifying lines, and to act in unison for practicable ends.

The work before us to-day is highly important. It is "to give religion its rightful part in the development of the individual and of society, to correlate religious and moral instruction with that in history, science, and literature obtained in public or private schools, to determine the established results of modern psychology and pedagogy, and of the historical study of the Bible as related to religious instruction, to indicate the proper place of the Bible in religious and moral instruction and the wise methods of its use, to establish its adaptedness, historically studied, for the promotion of such religious instruction as the state may rightfully promote, to show the necessity of adapting religious instruction to various stages of physical, mental, moral, and spiritual development in the pupil, to promote the adoption in all schools of courses of study and methods of teaching which take into account the present status of knowledge, to further the adequate training of leaders and teachers for the responsible work of religious instruction, and to unite all individuals and agencies now laboring for these higher ideals of religious education." These achievements are wholly within the range of the men and women of to-day, and constitute an imperative summons to all to lend such a movement their influence, participation, and support.

\* The Religious Education Association has established an executive office at 153-155 La Salle Street, Chicago, Ill., at which its literature is obtainable on request.

# RURAL SCHOOL LIBRARIES IN NORTH CAROLINA.

BY CLARENCE H. POE.

(Editor of the *Progressive Farmer*, Raleigh, N. C.)

JUST now, when the princely donations of Mr. Andrew Carnegie have given a new stimulus to library-building in American cities, it may be well to turn our eyes to the "other half,"—the rural half,—of our population, for although, until quite recently, no one thought of the public library as a possible rural institution, it has now made an auspicious entry into this new field, and is destined to play an important part among the twentieth-century forces,—rural mail delivery, good roads, rural telephones, etc.,—that make for the uplift of American country life.

The need of the rural library must be apparent to all who are familiar with country school methods. Reading is the magic key to all our storehouses of intellectual wealth; it is the basis of all education. "The true university of these days," says Carlyle, "is a collection of books." And it is here, of all points in its curriculum, that the country school has failed most grievously,—it has not taught the child to read, to use books. Do not understand me to charge that the rural school is literally and avowedly disloyal to the first of the immortal three R's, for it is not. But only in the narrowest sense does it teach reading,—reading as the mere pronunciation of words and the observance of punctuation marks; the unlovely, mechanical side of reading. The brighter side of reading the country pupil does not get; the city pupil does. Aided by the prescribed supplemental literature, and guided by the teacher, the child of the townsman learns to find joy in reading, learns not only *how to read*, but actually learns *to read*, to use books. If you know the country school as the writer does, you know the other side of this picture. You know children who live out a long school career without learning anything of literature beyond the monotonous rehearsal of dry text-book matter. Cold, hard facts about the boundaries of foreign states, the dates of ancient battles, the rules of the Stock Exchange, are regarded as matters of importance, but the teacher does not see that it is better to foster a love of reading than to teach history or geography. Or if he sees the duty, and longs to direct the child to the beauties of literature, he is shackled by

the lack of facilities for such work. Year after year, there is the same old drill in the same old readers, no classics are studied, and there is no supplemental reading to give the spice of variety.

It is inevitable that children reared in such schools come to regard reading not as a luxury, but as drudgery, and grow up potentially, if not in the strictest sense, illiterate. "I confess," says Thoreau, somewhere in his "Walden," "that I do not make any broad distinction between the illiterateness of my townsman who cannot read at all and the illiterateness of him who has learned only to read what is for children and feeble intellects." How much narrower, then, should be the distinction between the "illiterateness of him who cannot read at all" and the illiterateness of him whose training has been such that he regards reading only as a task to be shunned! People everywhere are now beginning to see the mistake pointed out, ten years ago, by President Eliot in his essay "Wherein Popular Education Has Failed":

We have heretofore put too much confidence in the mere acquisition of the arts of reading and writing. After these arts are acquired, there is much to be done to make them effective for the development of the child's intelligence. If his reasoning power is to be developed through reading, he must be guided to the right sort of reading. The school must teach not only how to read, but what to read, and it must develop a taste for wholesome reading.

It is to remedy just this defect that the rural school library has been introduced into twenty-nine American States. And though widely varying plans have been adopted, in no other State, I dare say, has more rapid progress been made or greater results accomplished in proportion to capital expended than in North Carolina. For this reason I may be pardoned for referring at some length to this North Carolina plan, which seems to be the one best adapted to States having a large rural population and a small revenue. The law as passed by the General Assembly of 1901 provides, in substance,—

That wherever the friends or patrons of any rural public school contribute \$10 or more for starting a library in connection with the school, \$10 of the district school fund shall also be set

apart for the same purpose, while another \$10 will be given from the State appropriation,—thus insuring at the outset at least \$30 for each school library; in many cases, of course, the patrons contribute more than the minimum sum, \$10, needed to secure the \$20 from other sources. The county board of education then names some competent person to manage the prospective library and buy the books for it, these to be chosen from a remarkably well-selected list of standard works recently prepared by a committee of distinguished educators. The same committee, by the way, obtained competitive bids from prominent publishing houses, thus forcing prices to strikingly low figures, even for classics. The smallest libraries have seventy-five or eighty neat and substantially bound volumes.

By the earnest efforts of the North Carolina Literary and Historical Association, an appropriation of five thousand dollars was obtained for the payment of the State's part on the experimental plan just outlined, and in September, 1901, the appropriation became available, and the first North Carolina rural school library was established. The entire sum would have been speedily exhausted by the more progressive sections had not the Legislature provided that State aid should be available for not more than six school districts in any one of the ninety-seven counties. Within five months, a third of the counties reached this limit, and applications from other communities within their borders had to be rejected. Before the General Assembly of 1903 met, in January, four hundred and thirty-one of a possible five hundred libraries had been helped. In the face of such success there was nothing for the Legislature to do but make an appropriation of five thousand dollars more for the ensuing two years, while twenty-five hundred dollars was added to maintain and enlarge the libraries already established, the same Carnegie-like principle of coöperation to be observed: each gift from the State to be duplicated by an appropriation from the school fund, and again duplicated by private subscription.

Already many applications for aid from the new appropriation have been received, and Superintendent Joyner confidently predicts that before the next Legislature meets North Carolina will have one thousand State-aided rural school libraries. Then there are others, established entirely by private gifts. In one county

(Durham), adjoining that in which the writer lives, a wealthy citizen continued the good work begun by the State. He offered to duplicate amounts raised after the State-aid limit had been reached, and now every one of the forty white schools in the county has a library.

One other fact deserves mention. Not only does the rural school library develop the reading habit,—it develops it along right lines. Since, as Emerson says, "the ancestor of every action is a thought," how important it is that the literature that is to provoke thought be wholesome and well balanced! In our city libraries, fiction has much too large a place, many women and young people read nothing else. But while these rural libraries contain a few great novels, the chief effort is to develop a proper appreciation of choice works of science, travel, nature-study, poetry, history, biography, and mythology. Even if the child formed the "reading habit" outside the school, it would still be worth while for the State to have these libraries for the sole purpose of turning his new-found love of literature into right channels of truth and beauty.

Nor have the boys and girls been the only beneficiaries of the new movement. It has opened up a new world for many of the parents, and has done incalculable good in continuing the education of persons too old or too poor to longer attend school. The superintendent of schools for Durham County says that the books are used almost as much by the parents as by the children themselves, and the Pitt County superintendent says that the libraries have caused hitherto indifferent parents to become deeply interested in reading and in the education of their children. "The peculiar value of the school library," as the *New York Evening Post* rightly observes, "lies in the fact that it educates the younger generation as well as the older."

All in all, the North Carolina plan has proved a strikingly successful innovation, and we are moved to wonder that our educational leaders did not long ago perceive the value of rural library work, or, realizing it, did not think of the ease with which it may be conducted in connection with the public school. We are now not far from the time when no house where children meet for study, whether in town or country, will be regarded as even tolerably equipped without a small collection of the best books.

## LEADING ARTICLES OF THE MONTH.

### THE NEW HEAD OF THE STEEL TRUST.

**M**R. WILLIAM E. COREY, the new president of the United States Steel Corporation, succeeding Mr. Schwab, is, at the age of thirty-seven, head of the greatest corporation in the world. Nevertheless, Mr. Earl Mayo, who contributes a sketch of Mr. Schwab's successor in the September *Frank Leslie's*, says that a chief consideration that led to the appointment of Mr. Corey was the belief that he would prove an essentially conservative man. "We think of conservatism as associated naturally with gray hairs and dignity, but the man who sits at the president's desk in the offices of the Steel Corporation to-day is a short, sturdily built, blue-eyed, and red-cheeked individual who looks more youthful even than his years would indicate, and who puts on no more airs than he did when he was superintendent of a single department in one of the Carnegie mills.

#### MR. COREY'S CAREER.

"He was born in the town of Braddock, Pa., just outside of Pittsburgh, and got his early education from the public schools there until he was sixteen years old. One of the great Carnegie mills, the Edgar Thomson Steel Works, was situated in Braddock, and was the place to which most of the young men looked for employment.

"At sixteen, young Corey left school and began his practical education in these mills. The Thomson plant was the rail mill of the Carnegie combination. While he was learning how to make steel rails by day, the young man studied bookkeeping and other commercial studies at a business school during the evenings. Later on, he took up the study of chemistry and metallurgy on his own account.

"After a few years at Braddock, he was transferred to one of the plate mills of the Homestead plant, and a little later was placed in the order department, where he had a chance to learn something of the business management.

#### A SUPERINTENDENT AT TWENTY-ONE.

"At twenty-one, he became superintendent of the plate mill, and the open-hearth department was put in his charge soon afterward. His next promotion was to the position of superintendent of the armor-plate department, which was regarded as one of the most difficult as well as the most important in the whole works. When

Charles M. Schwab became president of the Carnegie company, in 1895, Mr. Corey was twenty-nine years of age. He had been thirteen years in the Carnegie mills, and was selected as the best man to succeed Mr. Schwab as general superintendent of the Homestead works.

#### HIS TECHNICAL INVENTIVENESS.

"In this position, he made a record as notable as that of Mr. Schwab himself. He perfected a method of reforcing armor known as the Corey reforcing process which increased the ballistic resistance of armor plate so that a desired resisting power could be obtained with a thinner plate than formerly. In conjunction with Prof. R. A. Fessenden, he also devised a mechanism for regulating the process of annealing plates which has been of great economy in this important branch of steel-making.

#### PROMOTED FROM THE CARNEGIE COMPANY.

"Upon the organization of the United States Steel Corporation and the election of Mr. Schwab as its president, in 1901, Mr. Corey again moved up and became president of the Carnegie company. Two other important steel plants were united with the Carnegie works as they had existed independently, and Mr. Corey's position was easily the most important executive post in the great steel trust after that of the president. Now that Mr. Schwab has given up the latter office, Mr. Corey, for the third time, has succeeded him."

### CHARLES F. MURPHY, TAMMANY'S NEW RULER.

**M**R. FRANKLIN MATTHEWS tells of the passing of Richard Croker's power in an article in the September *World's Work*, and how Charles Francis Murphy has risen to the Tammany headship. The question of good government in New York City, after this fall, depends so much on the leadership of Tammany Hall that the subject is one of national concern. Mr. Matthews says that for a man to become a recognized head of Tammany two things are necessary,—he must come up from the ranks, and he must be a silent man.

#### WHAT A LEADER MUST DO.

To remain leader, he must first win the local elections in New York City. The elections won, he



must parcel out the spoils offices for subordinate leaders, jobs of various kinds for more lowly workers, and contracts for the inner circle that finances and controls the organization. He must crush any rival in his own camp. If he fails in any of these, Tammany sweeps him aside. Mr. Charles Francis Murphy, for ten years leader of the "Gas House" district, and for nearly twenty years its real power, has come up from the ranks, and is uncommonly silent.

#### MURPHY IN CONTROL.

"There is no doubt that Murphy is in complete control of Tammany to-day. If he wins the coming municipal election, he will be entrenched in power more completely than Richard Croker was. In his brief term of leadership, he has played a better game for perpetuating his rule than Croker ever played, and, like so many rulers of Tammany, he is approaching the supreme crisis of his leadership with the lightning of municipal scandal playing about his head."

#### INNOVATIONS BY THE NEW LEADER.

In attacking Democratic representation in the councils of the organization, Murphy has shown himself even bolder than Richard Croker. He disapproves of Devery, and, although the latter was regularly elected to Tammany's executive committee, Murphy threw him out, and the courts have upheld him, thus far, on a technicality. Then the new leader had a resolution passed making the executive committee practically self-perpetuating. No member of a new executive committee can serve until his credentials have been approved by the retiring committee. In cases of rejection, or "non-selection," the retiring committee selects for the next committee. Next, Murphy abolished the celebrated Finance Committee, whose chairman, through his control of the money, was the leader of Tammany. The formal treasurer of the organization is a creature of Murphy's. The new leader holds the money-bags himself. No books are kept; no reports are made.

#### MURPHY THE MAN.

"Charles Francis Murphy is forty-four years old, tall, of athletic frame, with steel-gray eyes, and a mouth that shows, on his clean-shaven face, intense determination. He is rated,—probably correctly,—as a millionaire. He was born in the 'Gas House' district, in the neighborhood of Avenue A and Twentieth Street, on the East Side, and has had only a common-school education. Probably he is not as illiterate as Croker, but he has not yet revealed those

remarkable mental qualities that made Croker a born leader of men. Murphy is a graduated saloon-keeper. He had four saloons, got rich, gave up the business, took the only municipal office he ever had—that of dock commissioner, under Van Wyck—and was not long in getting richer. His friends say it was a legitimate increase of wealth, and his enemies have not yet dared to assert otherwise openly.

#### TEMPERATE, UNOBTRUSIVE, SILENT.

"He wears a dress suit comfortably, and, in his later days, has made his way repeatedly into a corner of Delmonico's with Tammany politicians and leading sporting men. He cares little for social life, nor has he put on airs by buying an expensive residence uptown. He never affected attendance at the Democratic Club in Croker's prosperous days, when 'The Club' was headquarters for the Tammany politicians. He went there when necessary, but he preferred to stand on a corner in his district at night and receive the politicians of his district. His charities have been many, and the Rev. Dr. Rainsford has praised him openly from his pulpit. Murphy has played politics almost from the very day he became a saloon-keeper. He is temperate, unobtrusive, silent. He knows every trick of the politician's art. He has even dared to bolt Tammany, and has brought it to terms. He never shirks responsibility in a fight, and his friends say he never lacks courage. He is steadfast to his friends, he was a dutiful son to his parents, and he cared for them and his brother's children when a protector was needed.



CHARLES F. MURPHY.

#### FISTICUFFS IN POLITICS.

"Like Croker, Murphy fought his way to petty political leadership in his youth with his fists. He left school early and went to work in the Roach shipyard, near his home. The surroundings were rough, and the boys of his own age were tough. By brute strength, he won their leadership. On Sundays, he showed his athletic prowess by playing catcher on a baseball team on the 'Big Lot' running along the East River from Eighteenth to Twenty-first Street. He was the best ball-player of the gang. He was boss of the nine, and his political predilec-

tions were shown by the name selected for the team. They were called the Senators."

Mr. Matthews says that Murphy has always put his brothers and relatives in office, and has secured contracts for his friends. A select coterie has grown rich with him. Mr. Murphy's excuse for the dock scandals in Mayor Van Wyck's administration is that he (Murphy) was ill when a large part of the contracts and leases were made. "Another is that the city ought not to expect more than 5 per cent."

#### THE CARTER HARRISON DYNASTY IN CHICAGO.

THE two men, father and son, who have ruled the Western metropolis with almost autocratic power during seventeen of the last twenty-five years, make the subject of an interesting sketch by Willis J. Abbot in the September



THE FIRST CARTER HARRISON.  
(Who died in 1893.)

*Munsey's*. Mr. Abbot says that this record is without a parallel in American municipalities, though if he had looked to Baltimore he would have seen almost as extraordinary a case of continuity in the mayor's office in Gen. Ferdinand C. Latrobe, who was elected seven times, and who ran again for mayor, unsuccessfully, last year.

#### MADE POSSIBLE BY THE FOREIGN ELEMENT.

The present mayor of Chicago, Carter H. Harrison, Jr., explains the phenomenon of his hereditary honors with the remark, "There are about one hundred and forty thousand people in this town infected with the Harrison microbe."

Mr. Abbot explains the Harrison dynasty by the presence in Chicago of a large foreign element. The European immigrants are used to the idea of a distinctly personal government, and it is in that fashion that Chicago has been governed. "So thoroughly is the son guided by the principles and convictions which animated his father that his *régime* may be regarded as the legitimate continuation of the elder Harrison's. He believes that Chicago is more akin to the cities of Continental Europe than to the Puritan towns of New England, and that a wider latitude of personal liberty is demanded by its people. Theaters, concert

halls, and saloons are open on Sunday, and until within a few weeks no effort was made to enforce the midnight closing of saloons, although an ordinance to that effect stood on the municipal records."

#### CARTER HARRISON HIS OWN BOSS.

In New York, the Democratic organization is stronger than the mayor and completely dominates him. But in

Chicago the Harrisons dominate the organization which put them in power. The campaign of last

April hinged on the question of boss rule. The Democrats were charged with being quite as much boss-ridden as the Republicans. Mayor Harrison answered the charge from the platform: "That is

true enough, but the Republican candidate for mayor has the boss of his party over him. I am my own boss and the boss of my party."

"While there is, of course, a Democratic organization in Chicago, by means of which nominations are made and campaigns managed, it has nothing like the coherence or continuity of the Tammany organization in New York. It is continually changing in control and even in name. The habit of party discipline has not yet become ingrained, and rebellion, which at any moment may become revolution, is the normal state of its constituent parts. The great powers of the mayor tend to make him ruler of the organization as soon as he is seated, and such a relation as that of Mayor Van Wyck to Mr. Croker is almost unthinkable in Chicago Democratic politics."

#### THE SECRET OF THEIR SUCCESS.

Both Harrisons were professional politicians, with all the shrewdness of the species, but Mr. Abbot does not ascribe their ascendancy wholly to the arts of the politician. "Their rule may not have been ideal, from every one's point of view, but beyond a doubt the administrations of both father and son have more nearly suited the people of Chicago than that of any other mayor."

"The elder Harrison affected somewhat the part of Haroun al Raschid, the Good Vizier, who roamed the streets of his city to see with his own eyes how his people were treated. A Kentuckian by birth, and passionately fond of riding, the veteran mayor rode about town examining



CARTER H. HARRISON.  
(Present mayor of Chicago.)

public works and familiarizing himself with the growth of the city, and the needs of its newer sections. He knew the whole town as a Tammany leader knows his district, and what was of quite equal importance, the whole town knew him. A picturesque figure on horseback, he would attract attention anywhere. Democratic and genial in manner, he made acquaintances fast, and made of each at once an informant and a friend."

#### THE ISSUES OF CHICAGO POLITICS.

During the elder Harrison's tenure of power, the vital problems affecting the city were largely those of police administration, public improvement, and taxation. His long popularity was due to his championship of personal liberty more than to any one other cause. His son has met an entirely new issue, and, shrewdly making it his own, has profited prodigiously by it. "It would be impossible to describe in detail the struggle over the street-railway franchises which has agitated Chicago for the whole period of the younger Harrison's régime. Enough to say that the approaching termination of the period for which the franchises were granted, the desperate efforts of the street-railway corporations to secure their renewal, universal disgust with the quality of the service rendered by the roads, and popular indignation against the cupidity of the financiers have given the question of public ownership in Chicago a vitality and interest paralleled in no other city.

"From the first, Mayor Harrison has stood against the renewal of the franchises, and to that extent has arrayed himself with the advocates of municipal ownership. The more radical of these will tell you that his position has been that of an obstructionist rather than a real champion of their cause. They will admit that he has done good service by stubbornly exerting every power he possesses to prevent the corporations from securing their new franchises; but they will assert that he has done nothing to advance actual municipal ownership. They may declare that his policy has been to 'nurse' the issue, so that it would appear at each election and be used for his advantage."

#### THE FUTURE OF CARTER HARRISON II.

The elder Harrison was elected five times to the mayoralty; the younger has been elected four times, and is now only forty-three years of age. With this record, and with a powerful organization at his command; with a domicile in a pivotal State; with the friendship of the dominant forces in the national Democratic organization, Carter Harrison II. is widely talked

of for the Presidential nomination. The elder Harrison's political genius and political success were bounded by the city limits of Chicago, and every effort to become a controlling factor in the State met with defeat. Thus far, the younger man has found his influence jealously limited to the city by hostile Illinois politicians, but Mr. Abbot sees indications that he is becoming strong enough to burst these fetters.

#### A VERSATILE FRENCH PUBLICIST.

ALL Americans at all familiar with international athletics, and especially old readers of the REVIEW OF REVIEWS who will recall the contributions of Baron Pierre de Coubertin on European topics, will be interested in the study of M. de Coubertin's career, by Mary Girard, which appears in the August number of the *Fortnightly Review*.

Baron de Coubertin is at present only thirty-nine years of age, but he has already accom-



BARON PIERRE DE COUBERTIN.

plished more work than ever the average active man could get through if he lived to a hundred.

First, M. de Coubertin is a publicist. He has published eleven volumes, and innumerable articles in the French, English, and German reviews. He edited in 1890 and 1891 the *Revue Athlétique*, and since 1900 has founded three other publications. He has written on education and travel, and has published in England a book on France.

## AS INNOVATOR IN ATHLETICISM.

But M. de Coubertin's marvelous activity merely makes use of writing as an instrument. At the age of twenty-three he began a propaganda in favor of English methods of physical education in French *lycées* and colleges. To do so he had to raise the pupils to revolt. Both masters and parents were apathetic, so M. de Coubertin induced the pupils to form their own athletic associations. After personally studying English games, he declared for Rugby football as the best lesson in manly science. From this he proceeded to create a great *Union des Sports Athlétiques* which to-day numbers more than forty thousand members and nearly four hundred societies. As the following anecdote shows, he was daunted by no opposition or indifference:

"The head master of a certain *lycée* having refused to honor with his presence some athletic sports got up by his pupils in the Bois de Boulogne, M. de Coubertin simply went to look for the President (who frequently drove in the Bois), and induced M. Carnot to appear unexpectedly on the ground as distributor of the prizes. One can imagine the feelings of the head master when he heard what he had missed!"

Having nationalized sport in France, he proceeded to internationalize it by reviving the Olympian games. When M. Tricoups refused support, he hastened to Athens, roped in the rich merchants, captured public opinion, and got the Prince Royal to act as president. The International Olympic Committee is now a permanent body; the games have been held twice with great success, and will be held again in 1904 at St. Louis.

## AS POLITICIAN.

Unsatisfied with this record, M. de Coubertin set about internationalizing politics. He observed that while Frenchmen know nothing of foreign nations, those nations in return know nothing of France, and even conceive it to be sunk into a state of indefinite decadence. M. de Coubertin, with his pen, spread the truth about his country's enormous progress abroad, founded a *Chronique de France*, and established annual prizes in five of the principal American universities for winners in debates on subjects suggested by contemporary French policy. In 1899, on behalf of the *Indépendance Belge*, he undertook an inquiry into the future of Europe, and wrote a series of papers which were discussed in more than one parliament. He advocated Anglo-French friendship; dealt with the question of Austrian disruption, which he believes inevita-

ble, and urged that France should not blindly intervene in a Germano-Russian war.

## A PERSONAL PROOF.

When people objected that athleticism takes up too much time, and that a man cannot keep in training without sacrificing other things, M. de Coubertin, with characteristic energy, proceeded to prove the contrary by a personal test:

"He proved his point by a series of experiments of which the best known was made two years ago at Cannes; he there (on the spur of the moment, and without any training) gave an exhibition of six hours of various exercises in eight hours' time,—an hour's rowing, an hour's cycling, an hour's lawn tennis, an hour's boxing and fencing, an hour's riding, and an hour's motoring,—all without a sign of fatigue, as the doctors attested. His theory is that there is a 'muscular memory,' which, though very durable, ceases altogether after a certain number of months; so that if a man takes care never to go longer than from ten to eighteen months without practising (if it is only three or four times) the different forms of exercise which he has learned, he will keep for a long time in a state of semi-training which will allow of his taking a considerable amount of muscular exercise of any sort he chooses without damage or fatigue."

## AS EDUCATIONIST.

As a reformer of education M. de Coubertin is no less distinguished. He has written a book in which he prophesies the speedy downfall of the encyclopedic method, and recommends what he calls the analytic instead of the synthetic method. At present we are trying to build up in the brains of our young men a synthesis of general knowledge by teaching them the elements of each science in succession, but we only give them an unconnected smattering of all sorts of knowledge. It is not in the least necessary to know chemistry and physics as so many distinct sciences. What should be taught is the science of the general physical or chemical phenomena familiar in daily life.

M. de Coubertin is an innovator even in his interpretation of French history. He regards the great Revolution as nothing better than a clumsy exaggeration of the principles of the Reformation and American Independence, and says that by its excesses it retarded the establishment of liberty in France by eighty years. And, finally, the baron is a descendant of Rubens and of Cyrano de Bergerac, which, if he cannot claim it as an achievement of his own, may perhaps be partially an explanation of his amazing talents and daring.



## THE NEEDS AND AMBITIONS OF GERMANY.

HITHERTO there has been a tendency to take German expansionism as a popular ebullition with nothing but crude patriotism about it. The *Contemporary Review* for July contains a singularly well-informed, unsigned article entitled "Germany and Pan-Germany." The writer of this article sets out to show how serious and well founded is the movement, and, indeed, how Germany's very existence depends upon its success. Germany, to-day, is rapidly turning into the economic condition of England. She depends more and more for her food supply upon over-sea countries. A blockade of any length would reduce her to submission. If the increasing population is every year less and less able to feed and find work for itself, it must emigrate, and either be lost for the empire, or settle in countries under German control. For this the first necessity is a fleet. German naval policy is, therefore, the product of reason, not of enthusiasm. The most staid and approved economists are as combative as any Pan-German.

## GERMANY'S GREAT ALTERNATIVE.

"Here is the gist of their opinions. If Germany cannot obtain some great territory in reserve for her growing population, from which, in the twentieth century, she can satisfy her need of products grown in temperate and tropical zones in the best possible conditions, either by commercial treaties or by political power, then she must artificially check her population and lower their standard of living, or resume her former humble place in the concert of the powers. If Germany is not powerful enough at sea to keep open the corn-trade routes, and, in given circumstances, to exercise pressure upon corn-exporting countries, her existence as a nation is threatened."

The danger to Germany lies in her small compass of home territory, from which follows the necessity of acquiring colonies. The Pan-German conception is that of an All-German European Customs Union and a Greater Germany across the seas, self-feeding, self-sufficient, and shut out from all foreign trade. A German statistician estimates that in 1980 the Slav and Anglo-Saxon races will number together 1,280,000,000, whereas Germany will have only 180,000,000. Unless her expansionist policy succeeds, she will be entirely dependent upon foreign countries.

## THE STRUGGLE FOR SOUTH AMERICA.

Where, then, is Germany's gaze directed? Chiefly to the near East and to Latin America. The importance of the Bagdad Railway lies in the fact that it will open the way to German

trade and German interests, *via* Bagdad, to the Indian Ocean. But Greater Germany may spring up in South America. The government now passively supports German emigration to Brazil; and the Hanseatic Colonial Society has taken over property in Santa Catharina as large as Northumberland, with permission to settle on the land as many as six thousand emigrants yearly. Since then two former independent colonies to the north and south have been incorporated in the original property, and the whole colony is now called "The Hansa." It is a complete state within the state, German influence being everywhere paramount. In 1901, there were about 100,000 German colonists in Santa Catharina. In Parana, out of a population of 249,000, a large proportion is German, and a quarter of the 897,000 people in Rio Grande do Sol are Germans. The Disconto Bank and the Deutsche Bank have divided South America into economic spheres of interest. In South Brazil, 30 per cent. of the people are Germans. The writer says that "there is no reason why Germans should not colonize, capitalize, and eventually hold Brazil, just as we hold Egypt and Russia Manchuria."

"The future of South America, undoubtedly, will depend on the Monroe Doctrine and on the navy which is behind it. There will come a time, not so remote in the future, when the economic absorption by the Germans of Brazil and other South American States may lead to political supremacy which, if questioned, must be abandoned or contended for. If at such a juncture the German navy is strong enough confidently to engage the American fleet, then conceivably the issue will be a fighting one."

The writer concludes that in this sphere German ambitions have arisen too late to outstrip America, and that the Monroe Doctrine is destined to bar Germany's way.

## GERMANY AND ENGLAND IN AFRICA.

LIEUTENANT VON LIEBERT, from whose article on the German colony of East Africa we quoted in the July number of the *REVIEW* or *REVIEWS*, contributes another article on Germany and England in Africa to the *Deutsche Revue* for August. Twenty years ago, when the German flag was first unfurled in Africa, England was in possession of South Africa from the mouth of the Orange River to Tongaland, the mouth of the Niger, the Gold Coast, Sierra Leone, and the Gambia district, and had entered upon its protectorate over Egypt; the French Republic was the only rival it had to fear in Africa, for at the Congo conference Ger-

many had refused any acquisition of territory. But in 1884, Bismarck finally consented to an active campaign across the sea, and the German flag was raised in Angra Pequena, Kamerun, Togo, Wituland, and the Somali coast (Hohenzollernhafen), and Germany assumed the protectorate over Uganda. John Bull looked askance upon this progress of his Continental cousin, says Herr von Liebert; there was much friction, and it required the entire diplomacy of the system of Bismarck to gain the desired end while avoiding a conflict with England. The Arab insurrection on the Zanzibar coast prepared the way for a conference with the British Government on the division of the spheres of influence. Unfortunately, Bismarck was dismissed at this time, and his successor did not show the same interest in the matter. The result was the "notorious" Zanzibar agreement of July 1, 1890. A line from the mouth of the Umba to Lake Victoria Nyanza, and thence along the first degree, southern latitude, through the lake to the border of the Congo State, was determined as the boundary between the British and the German spheres of influence. Germany thereby lost Somaliland, Witu, Uganda (the protectorate), the Bangweilo district to the south, the country west of Lake Nyassa, and gave up its claims to Zanzibar. "The British had all the advantages and the Germans all the disadvantages. The British consul-general of Zanzibar also became agent-general for the East African protectorate, from whose port of Mombassa a railroad now leads to Lake Nyanza."

#### THE PORTUGUESE COLONIES OF AFRICA.

These colonies are now the object of contention between England and Germany, and Herr von Liebert thinks that his country ought to get them. To the west and the east of central Africa south of the equator, the two extensive provinces of Angola and Mozambique, respectively, have remained under the Portuguese flag, after the Congo State from the north and Great Britain from the south have seized the intermediate territory. The British especially have not dealt gently with the Portuguese. Pushing up from the south, they have raised their flag wherever gold has been found, and have had this arbitrary acquisition of land confirmed by their government. But since Germany has established itself in Africa, wedging itself in between the British and the Portuguese possessions, it has become deeply interested in the regulation of future ownership, and cannot calmly contemplate the exclusive acquisition of those provinces by another power.

"Germany is confronted with the imperative

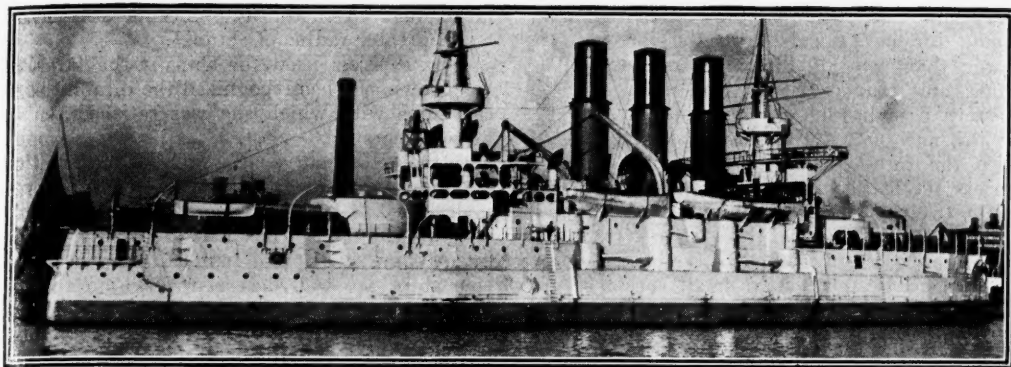
necessity of seeking new territory for its increasing population, and Portugal's African possessions, which border upon the German colonies, may be acquired most conveniently, as opportunity offers, by peaceable means. Portugal has proved itself unworthy of its colonies by four centuries of misgovernment and cultural indolence; its impoverished exchequer may be replenished by a cash indemnity. For political and commercial reasons, Germany requires the province of Mozambique as far as the Zambesi, and the province of Mossamedes in the west."

In 1898, Germany and Great Britain arrived at an understanding regarding the eventual division of the Portuguese colonies. Then it was unexpectedly reported in the English press (but apparently never officially announced) "that a new agreement had been signed in Lisbon by which all the Portuguese colonies are placed under the protection and guarantee of Great Britain. By this apparently unimportant step, the latter immeasurably enlarges its colonial and maritime power, and especially its paramountcy in Africa. British capital, which has already selfishly exploited these colonies, without regard to their government, will now treat them as British crown lands. The barriers to the east and west of Rhodesia have been removed; it can congratulate itself on being able to extend to the coast.

"It is to be deeply regretted that the friendly relations that have so far existed between the two powers in Africa are thereby seriously endangered. The question is not a political, but a purely economic, one, and in this respect its present solution is inexcusably thoughtless on the part of England. Although the agreement of 1898 has never been made public, its main points have become known. Can the Germans, in view of these recent developments, be blamed if they speak of 'Punic faith?' Great Britain cannot afford to take such things lightly, and should beware of sticking a thorn like this into the side of a friendly power as peaceable as the Germans."

#### RUSSIA'S FLEET.

ALL the world is interested in Russia's naval preparations, in view of her threatened conflict with Japan, and American shipyards have furnished some of the most powerful of the new Russian men-of-war. These facts give special pertinence to Mr. Archibald S. Hurd's instructive paper on "Russia's Fleet," in the *North American Review* for August. After alluding to the fact that the recent announcement of a new Russian shipbuilding programme



THE NEW AMERICAN-BUILT RUSSIAN BATTLESHIP "RETVIZAN," THE SWIFTEST VESSEL OF HER CLASS AFLOAT.

was immediately followed by an agreement among Japanese statesmen to expend \$57,500,000 on new ships of war for their nation, this writer says:

"In the world to-day, there is no more remarkable and significant movement than the haste which is being shown in strengthening the naval forces of the Czar. Born in England, cradled by English hands, that fleet has lately received accessions from some of the chief shipyards of the world, so greatly have Russia's political dreams outrun the industrial means by which to give them substance. For five years past, the United States, England, France, and Germany have been busy building ships which, in consequence of her haste for power, the resources of Russian shipbuilding establishments could not construct. Such world-wide activity at the bidding of one single ambitious government which knows what it wants and the instruments which it needs to accomplish its purpose is unparalleled. With daring audacity, which has passed almost without comment, she has called upon the friends of the 'open door' in the far East to help forge the weapons which she, the opponent of the 'open door,' will use against them if they hinder her. By every means in her control, Russia has built up and is building up a great fleet, and the striking fact in this expansion is that her navy is not concentrated, as ten years ago was the case, in the Baltic and the Black Sea, but is massed largely at the new sea outlets of the huge dominions of the Czar, Port Arthur and Vladivostock."

#### RUSSIA IN THE FAR EAST.

Mr. Hurd shows how Russian naval programmes for years past have been worked out with reference to Russia's general policy in the far East:

"Every movement has been planned with

care and circumspection, and every provision that forethought could suggest has been made in advance. Assured of her impregnability in Europe against a vital blow through the navies of the world combined in arms against her, Russia foresaw, four years ago, that in the far East she would have to secure a naval supremacy if she were to carry out her policy. To overawe China with visible evidence of her power afloat was her aim; while, by means of her strategic railway, she would be able to demonstrate her ability to pour in troops from Europe. At the same time, she needed a fleet to keep Japan, newly awakened to her future, in check. Ten years ago, as a naval power in far Eastern waters, Russia was an inconsiderable factor, and the British squadron had no serious rival. To-day, no fleet, if even the British and Japanese squadrons in the far East combined, equals hers. It is on this foundation of a great fleet that the policy of Russia rests."

After showing that Russia's naval expenditures increased from about \$17,500,000 in 1887-89 to about \$54,000,000 in 1902, a greater percentage of augmentation than has been experienced by any other European navy since 1889, Mr. Hurd adds that the true significance of this increase can be fully appreciated only if it is remembered that each new ship, as it has been completed, has been dispatched to the far East, that more than \$500,000,000 has been spent on railroad communications, and that large sums have been expended in developing and fortifying Vladivostock and Port Arthur, while the countries that have been building the ships have at the same time loaned to Russia large sums to carry out this expansion policy.

#### GROWTH OF THE EASTERN SQUADRON.

"In feverish haste, Russia has practically completed her great naval programme; and

last summer she was able to send, as reinforcements for her squadron in the far East, no fewer than two of the new first-class battleships, and four cruisers. The naval force in Eastern seas has been increased year by year as the new men-of-war have been completed, with the result that Russia now has in those waters six battleships, two large armored gunboats, twelve cruisers, including four armored, a large torpedo flotilla, three sloops, three torpedo gunboats, two torpedo vessels, two mining transports, and several small special-service ships. This is the formidable force already in these far Eastern waters, ready to support the action of Russian diplomatists at every turn, and fresh reinforcements are frequently dispatched. Russia's dreams are of the East, and she has had no ships, for some years past, to spare for the increase of her fleet in the West. Her present naval expenditure amounts to a charge equal to £15 13s. 9d. on every ton of her shipping, a sufficient indication that her navy has not been built, even in part, to protect her mercantile marine.

"The policy of expansion, which has been worked out with as little commotion as possible in the past few years, is apparently nearing completion, and by the time Russia throws off all reserve she will have secured her position in the far East so well that any attempt to hinder her will only be possible at the cost of a terrible war; it cannot be doubted that, after so great a financial sacrifice, Russia will not permit herself to be deprived of her spoils. She is in China, and there she will remain, mistress of Manchuria, mistress of the neighboring waters, and the dominant military power, also, in this section of China, since her railway will enable her to pour troops into the peninsula at the shortest notice, to reinforce the huge garrison which has been quartered there for years past, housed in new, permanent barracks.

"The growth in the naval armaments of Russia can be illustrated with sufficient accuracy by taking the number of battleships ten years ago, with their displacement, and we thus get the following comparison:

	1893.		1903.	
	No.	Tons.	No.	Tons.
Battleships.....	15	133,000	21	230,700
Large cruisers.....	10	63,400	15	116,300"

#### THE LATEST PROGRAMME.

Not satisfied, even now, with its naval strength, the Russian Government has decided that, as the 1898 programme has been practically completed, another programme shall be started on at once. Six battleships are now to be built which will be

larger than any heretofore built and will have a much greater radius of action.

"As Russia's need for ships in the far East has grown, she has recognized the disabilities of the ships with which she was satisfied ten or fifteen years ago,—ships of small displacement, with little coal and small room for ammunition and stores; and every ship which is now ordered is designed to be as self-supporting as any ship of war can be. The new battleships, consequently, are to displace 16,000 tons. All Russian ships are well designed, down to the minutest detail; they have good speed, and are more heavily armed than the vessels of most navies. Moreover, they are well kept in all details, as is evident from the most cursory glance between decks."

It is estimated that Russia's new navy has already cost her more than the South African war cost Great Britain.

#### RUSSIA'S WORK IN MANCHURIA.

IN the *Contemporary Review*, Mr. Alexander Ular has one of his characteristic articles. It is entitled "Russia, Manchuria, and Mongolia," and deals mostly with tortuous matters which cannot be summarized. The general effect of his article is that the Russian occupation of Manchuria is definite and irrevocable. Three years' undisturbed and gradual progress of pacific administrative policy has now brought about a marvelous work of ethnic assimilation which cannot be undone by mere diplomatic decision. Mr. Ular treats the fighting with the Boxers and Hunhuses in Manchuria as so much comedy, and declares that if protests are made to Russia a further outbreak will take place to make evacuation impossible. But even if Russia evacuated the country in earnest, she would, under the Cassini Convention, keep enough troops to make the country purely Russian. Mr. Ular, though looking at Russia's progress with a jealous eye, nevertheless cannot help confessing that she is doing well by the people. He says:

"It is certain that, under the present system, the Chinese find themselves better off than under the awful financial oppression of the mandarins. Russia, at this moment, does not want to get financial profit from this fiscal organization; she is only endeavoring to have Manchuria existing by herself and attached by public sympathy to the régime of the Czar. This she has obtained. People are delivered from Hunhuse and mandarin oppression. Taxes are equitable. Russian paper money, with a fixed rate of exchange, is legal tender. Russian county courts, applying a cheap and well-intentioned jurisdiction, are pre-



ferred everywhere to Chinese tribunals. And,—I feel obliged to say, although I am not at all a friend of Russian expansion,—this wonderful policy has succeeded so well that at this moment, I am firmly convinced, a sincere Manchurian plebiscite would decide plainly, by an immense majority, against the Manchu dynasty and for the Czar."

### SIDELIGHTS ON THE EMPRESS-DOWAGER OF CHINA.

THE account of the return of the imperial Chinese court to Peking has become an old story, but every new version brings out interesting particulars. In *Cornhill* for August, Mrs. Archibald Little tells some new anecdotes of the Emperor and Dowager-Empress.

The appearance of the Emperor caused an English engineer to exclaim, "Who can that bright, happy-looking boy be?" to the horror of all the Chinese present. He was a "slight young man, stepping buoyantly out of the carriage, with the happy smile of so many an English young man as he comes to his journey's end."

"Before one had time to realize it was he, he had got swiftly into the vast golden-yellow sedan chair waiting for him and been silently carried away, only his curiously projecting chin noticeable in profile as he sat, still looking back at the train he had left. A deep hush always falls upon the crowd in China whenever a mandarin stirs abroad; how much more when the Son of Heaven moves, and a few years ago surely that foreign engineer would have been beheaded for his outspokenness. But this year none ever knelt; whereas, of old it was on both knees, and with faces earthward-bent, that Chinese subjects would have received their Emperor.

#### TSE-HSI, THE EMPRESS-DOWAGER.

"Tse-hsi, Empress-Dowager, was the next to appear, standing for some time on the railway platform, with its *voyant* embroidery, a eunuch supporting her under either arm. On this occasion she certainly looked her age, sixty-eight, with her very broad face and many double chins. Her eyes, the longest probably ever seen, remained cast down, and though there was a great appearance of graciousness, the smile, whose coldness even chills foreign ministers, was absent. Yet, even as she stood still and silent, with her eyes cast down, one felt the magnetic power of the woman. There was no appearance of powder or paint about her, no indication of either eyes or eyebrows being artificially lengthened. If done at all, it must have been well

done. But the thing that was most striking about her was her stillness.

"Just as the Empress regnant but not ruling appeared at the carriage door the train began to back away, and I saw nothing but her eyes and brow, above which the locks were wide dispersed. So far it seemed a good face. But it was impossible to discern whether the will power was there, so visible in the Empress-Dowager's pleasantly flattering face, with falsity written large over every line of the apparently good-humored surface.

#### THE EMPRESS EXPRESSED IN ENGLISH TERMS.

"The Dowager is of the type so well known in every land where society exists. Were she an English mother she would, one feels at once, marry all her daughters to eldest sons, irrespective of whether they were lunatics or confirmed dipsomaniacs. She would smile and say pleasant things, as she pressed forward over her enemy's dead body, without even a thrill of pleasure in the doing so; it would be so absolutely indifferent to her how she got there provided that she got to the front. People who have seen her eyes raised talk of their marvelous quickness, people who have seen her smile talk of the smile's coldness, ladies who have conversed with her speak of the furious anger of her expression as she reprimands an attendant, succeeded instantaneously by the utmost urbanity as she addresses a guest."

An Englishman of business, who saw her at the same time, said afterward: "I always thought, as likely as not, the Empress had nothing to do with all those Boxer troubles, but that woman never was imposed upon or put upon. I know now she did it all."

#### THE CLEVERNESS OF THE EMPRESS.

It is said that this wonderful old lady, who began life as the poor and soon fatherless daughter of a small military official, is suffering from a mortal malady, and has only two or three years to live. In the opinion of Mrs. Little, "the Empress-Dowager has no difficulties about Manchuria. She knows quite clearly what she wants; so long as she gets that, how she does so does not matter to her, and therefore she always gets her way. She is sixty-eight now."

An interesting anecdote is given of the way in which she settled the question of how one of the daughters of the Chinese minister to Paris, who married a portly American wife, should be dressed when she came to court. The Empress decided that "the wife of the late minister to Paris, being half American, can come in American clothes, but the daughter of a Manchu

official must come in Manchu dress ; but as the young lady has no practice in high Manchu clogs (with the high heel in the middle, an indispensable part of a Manchu lady's court dress), and would therefore infallibly trip herself up and fall prostrate, let her therefore come dressed as a Manchu boy, only without the high official boots. And thus the question is settled by that mind that, like one of the great dockyard hammers, can either straighten a pin or mold a cannon."

#### THE ALLIES IN CHINA.

TO the first July number of the *Revue des Deux Mondes*, General Frey contributes an interesting article, which is to form part of a forthcoming book, on the coöperation of the forces of the Allied Powers in Pe-chi-li in 1900 and 1901. The general evidently thinks that such striking coöperation between forces widely differing in language, traditions, and efficiency will become more frequent in the future now that the Great Powers have each of them a world policy. Naturally, he begins by describing the terms of affectionate comradeship which subsisted between the French and the Russian forces. He formed a high opinion of the efficiency of the Russian troops, their powers of endurance, their bravery, and their perfect discipline.

#### THE ENGLISH SOLDIERS—GALLANT GENTLEMEN.

With regard to the English and Indian forces, he evidently does not consider that the marines, who formed so large a portion of Admiral Seymour's column, were very well fitted for marches and other land operations. Nevertheless, he pays a warm tribute to their bravery. As for the officers and the noncommissioned officers, he was much struck by the truly British phlegm which characterized them even in the most critical moments, and he declares that they always conducted themselves like gallant gentlemen.

On the general question of the relations between the British forces and the other contingents, General Frey gives an amusing description of the British reserve which characterized the officers, which was, of course, imitated by the rank and file. He thinks that this was due, to some extent, to the subordinate rôle played by the British force in the operations, and also to the depressing effect of the news from South Africa,—the affair of Fashoda, also, was too recent not to find a certain reflection in the relations between the French and English.

#### THE INDIAN TROOPS.

About the native Indian troops General Frey is very frank. Some of the European contin-

gents, who had only heard travelers' tales about the Sikhs, Gurkhas, Punjabis, and other Indian races, were very angry at being asked to receive them as brethren in arms. This prejudice remained even to the end of the campaign, but not at all, says General Frey, among those of the allies who saw these troops at work. The coolie camp-followers who attended the British contingent did not behave well, and their misdeeds were commonly, but unjustly, attributed to the Sikhs. He considers that the native Indian troops need not fear comparison with the native troops of any other power. He particularly admires the Bengal Lancers, whom he calls magnificent troops. The particular defect of the Indian forces, he notes, was that they were insufficiently strengthened by white officers.

#### PRAISE FOR THE JAPANESE.

General Frey has nothing but praise for the Japanese troops, whose training, discipline, and efficiency were remarkable. They exhibited a kind of mystical exaltation ; they went into battle with that sort of hypnotic fervor which produces heroes and martyrs. For the American contingent, too, small as it was, he has a great admiration, and he declares that they showed military qualities, both individually and in the mass, of the very first order. With regard to the German force, General Frey commends its excellent organization, but condemns the excessive discipline, amounting almost to brutality, enforced even when the troops were off duty.

#### THE AMERICAN TROOPS.

"The American troops on the march," says General Frey, "produced, on the whole, a favorable impression by their good order and discipline, due in no small measure to the light equipment of the soldiers." The most striking qualities of this contingent were the decision, energy, and initiative displayed by the men. Their initiative and independence, indeed, General Frey criticises as being "little in keeping with the obligations of all kinds imposed upon the different contingents by their collaboration in joint and concerted actions." On the march, or in camp, the allies would often be startled by sudden shots among them, fired off indiscriminately by American patrols or privates, "who, in default of the enemy, aimed pitilessly at all the dogs, swine, and other animals they met, losing no occasion of burning their powder. Nor did they violate thereby the orders of their superiors, for it is one of the characteristic traits of American military customs that the officers give their men entire freedom of action when off duty."

This independence had more serious consequences in some engagements in the beginning of the campaign, where the unconcerted movements of small American detachments occasionally interfered with the movements of the allies; and once, on August 6, on storming the intrenchments of Yang-tsun, the Americans lost thereby thirty men of the Fourteenth infantry regiment, which got in the way of the Russian and English batteries.

As an offset to these restrictions, General Frey gives high praise to some divisions of the service, the efficient transportation of the baggage, the rapidity with which telegraphic communication was established, the ingenious cooking apparatus, and the solid tents, enabling the Americans, alone of all the allies, to withstand comfortably the rigorous climate of Pe-chi-li.

It may be said in general that although, from the point of view of general discipline and in performing their various duties they acted ostentatiously, by their great independence in the field, the familiar tone between superiors and subordinates on and off duty, their manner of paying the outward marks of respect, often contrary to the principles on which the military rules of the various European powers are based, and showing thereby their desire to preserve their individuality in conformity with their national temperament, yet the soldiers of the American contingent gave proof before the enemy at Tien-tsin, Yong-tsoun, Peking, and under all circumstances in general, of their intrepidity, endurance, and other military qualities of the first order.

#### WHAT BECOMES OF OUR TRADE BALANCES?

**W**ALL STREET conditions of the past summer have only made more pertinent the question, occasionally asked of late, Why are we still in debt to foreign countries? We have had five years of exceptionally heavy foreign trade; why, then, should we not receive cash in settlement of our balances, instead of being compelled to borrow, as we have done and are now doing, from Europe? In the current number of the *Sewanee Review*, Mr. W. H. Allen considers the answer commonly made to these questions,—i.e., that one part of the balances in question goes to offset our annual foreign debts for interest dues, tourists' expenses, freights, etc., and that the remainder is used to finance American enterprises abroad, and to repurchase securities returned by foreign investors.

Owing to its supposed importance as a factor in the situation, Mr. Allen devotes most of his attention to the foreign liquidation of American

securities. After stating that the prevalent belief in this liquidation originated among leading bankers and stock operators, and that evidence is lacking to substantiate the claim, he proceeds to show that the reports of foreign dealings in our securities on the New York Stock Exchange and elsewhere, as given in the newspapers, indicate a condition exactly opposite,—namely, a vast increase of foreign investments here, instead of a liquidation. During the four years, 1898–1901, inclusive, Mr. Allen finds that the purchases of our stocks for foreign account exceeded the sales by some 3,743,000 shares. In other words, foreigners made purchases to the value of about \$250,000,000 over and above the value of the stocks that they sold back to us. The records on which this estimate is based were chiefly taken from the *New York Evening Post*, verified by reference to other newspapers. They apply only to the New York Stock Exchange.

#### FOREIGNERS BUYING OUR STOCKS.

Continuing his investigation, Mr. Allen estimates that in the single year 1902 about \$380,000,000 worth of American properties passed over to foreign control. In reply to the objection that his figures prove too much,—or, as one critic puts it, "they increase the difficulty of accounting for our missing balances,"—Mr. Allen says:

"The plain answer to this objection is that no problem can be made more difficult of solution by stating the facts as we find them. The foregoing reports of foreign dealings on and off the Stock Exchange were copied from leading New York newspapers; and as they are not at all partial to my view of this matter, I have no reason to assume that they would deliberately magnify the reports of foreign investments here, and suppress any information as to reports of foreign liquidation. These reports, taken in connection with the condition of our money market, and the greater prominence of foreign bankers here, prove to a certainty that the whole theory of this immense foreign liquidation is one of the most brazen falsehoods that have ever been imposed on the American public. Instead of a liquidation of over one billion dollars in the past five years, these reports show that there has been an increase of foreign investments here of nearly that amount. Furthermore, my investigation of the character of foreign dealings here in 1893 convinces me that this theory is equally false in regard to the five years before 1898.

#### AMERICAN INVESTMENTS ABROAD.

"Still the question remains to be answered, What becomes of our trade balances? If they

have not gone to repurchase securities, where have they gone? So much space has been devoted to the consideration of this liquidation theory that only a brief statement of what seems to me the true answer to this question can be given here.

"Within the last two years, it has been claimed that a good part of our balances has gone to finance American enterprises. The most popular estimate places this outlay at about \$150,000,000 yearly. But, as usual, it is guesswork. There is no real proof that one-quarter of that sum goes on this account. Many of the so-called American undertakings, like those in England, Canada, and Mexico, are being financed by foreign bankers in this country. Moreover, the monetary conditions which have prevailed here during this period conclusively prove that we have no such immense sums to spare for investments abroad. But even if this estimate were correct, the amount is more than offset by our foreign borrowings and the new investments of foreigners in our properties.

#### NO SURPLUS, BUT A BIG DEFICIT.

"Under these circumstances, I am led to conclude that our balances have gone to offset our annual foreign debts for earnings of foreign capital, hoardings of immigrants, expenses of Americans abroad, cost of ocean freights, and for military expenses outside of the United States. One of these items, immigrants' hoardings, is usually overlooked, but I am convinced that it amounts to more than any other item except, possibly, the earnings of foreign capital. Furthermore, the fact that during the past three years foreigners have purchased all these properties, in excess of what they sold, and also loaned us these immense sums without having to send us any gold, proves that our balances are not even big enough to offset these annual debts; hence, instead of having a big surplus to repurchase securities, etc., we are rolling up a big deficit every year, which has to be met by further borrowings or by selling more of our properties to avert gold exports.

"That is the plain meaning of these foreign borrowings, or sterling loans, as they are sometimes called; they represent a deficit, and nothing else. But this is not all. There is good reason to believe that the monetary stringency which has manifested itself so frequently since the beginning of 1899 is mainly due to the diversion of our currency in the vaults of the foreign banks here in part settlement of this deficit. Some facts which tend to corroborate this view are the otherwise unaccountable prosperity of these institutions, and the disappearance of our gold

currency. Within the past three years, these banks have been making extensive loans in Wall Street; and frequently they appear to have been the only parties that had any money to lend. Where did they get this money? Since 1896, three-fourths of the increase in our currency has been gold coin, and yet it is well known that there is actually less of this kind of money in general circulation,—that is, passing from hand to hand,—than there was eight years ago. As our own banks do not appear to have this gold, it seems quite reasonable to assume that the foreign banks must have it, and are lending it out in Wall Street and elsewhere."

#### THE CHAMBERLAIN TARIFF SCHEME AND AMERICAN TRADE.

THE proposed imperial zollverein of Mr. Chamberlain has been discussed in the British reviews from every conceivable point of view save the American. It remained for Mr. Henry Loomis Nelson to set forth, in the *North American Review* for August, the probable effect of the adoption of such an imperial tariff plan on the trade relations between the United States and Canada.

After showing that the Dominion market is a growing one, and that while the population of the United States is thirteen times greater than that of Canada, our imports are less than five times and our exports less than eight times as valuable as hers, Mr. Nelson asks us to consider what our future relations should be with the second most important country in America, our largest American customer.

"Not only, indeed, is Canada this, but, in some respects, it is our most valuable customer in the world. It has been the fashion, for more than twenty years, to dream and to talk much of our future trade relations with the American countries south of us, but the trade between this country and Canada is the most important to us on the continent, and is now, in many important articles, more valuable than our trade with the whole of the continent of South America, combined with that of Mexico and with that of the West Indies.

"Mr. Chamberlain's proposal, if adopted, would probably build up the agricultural interests of Canada and make our northern neighbor a more important rival than it has yet been in the largest foreign market which our own farmers possess. It is estimated that the 20 per cent. which Canada furnished of the total amount of food-supplies imported by Great Britain in 1902 can be increased to 80 per cent., and this is quite within the range of probability, as we will



see when we consider that Canada has actually more unoccupied agricultural lands than we possess.

#### AMERICAN FARMER AND BRITISH CONSUMER TO PAY THE PIPER.

"If the food-supplies which we export to Great Britain were to be made dearer to the importer or to the consumer than the food-supplies sent from Canada, our exports would naturally decrease, provided that the supply from Canada proportionately increased. This, however, would not be wholly the effect of Mr. Chamberlain's device. If importers paid for breadstuffs produced in the United States the price paid for Canadian products minus the English tariff tax, the American farmer would suffer directly in pocket. He would then pay the tariff tax, or part of it, out of his own pocket. In view, however, of the present English demand for foreign food products, the price of United States breadstuffs would be increased to the consumer. This increase would carry up the price of the Canadian products, in which event the British citizen would find his food more expensive than it has been.

#### ENRICHMENT OF THE CANADIAN FARMER.

"The chances of the British corn factor for profits would be greatly increased by a tariff tax imposed on wheat from the United States, Russia, the Argentine, and other foreign countries, and the bread of England would cost more. The prospects for the Canadian farmer would, however, be brightened, for the simple reason that the demand for his products would be increased if he could keep up the supply. The British consumer would, of course, be obliged to put his hand in his pocket in aid of Mr. Chamberlain's political design, but what is more important to us is, that the gains of the Canadian farmer would be at our expense, and at the expense of that class of our population upon which the burdens of our tariff now weigh most heavily. There is no reason to oppose the enrichment of the Canadian farmer. On the contrary, the richer he grows, the better for us, provided we change our trade relations with him and make them more natural,—make them, for example, like our own interstate relations. We ought, however, to do everything in our power to prevent the growing prosperity of Canada from operating to our injury, and we can accomplish this only by aiding that prosperity through exchanging free markets with her.

"In this way, we would not only help Canada, but we would help ourselves as well in a variety

of ways, not only industrially and commercially, but by the promotion of a neighborly feeling which has been sadly lacking for many years.

#### AMERICAN MANUFACTURES IN THE CANADIAN MARKET.

"If we insist upon shutting Canada out of our markets,—and the statistics of our imports from the Dominion show our success in this respect,—we invite the trade war with which Mr. Chamberlain threatens us. As matters stand, the Canadian is to be prospered, and whether this is to be at the expense of the British consumer as well as of the farmer of the United States is not in point. By leaving our tariff as it is, so far as Canada is concerned, we would make it possible for the Chamberlain policy to increase the riches of the Canadian farmer, to make of Canada a better market, and then to give the primacy in that market to the British manufacturer.

"Mr. Chamberlain proposes to increase the ability of the Canadian to buy, and to offer him for his money English-made goods at prices lower than those which he would pay for United States goods. This result he expects to accomplish by imposing a tariff tax upon goods going from this country to Canada higher than the tax imposed upon English goods. If the United States manufacturer meets this effort by underselling his English competitor in Canadian markets, he will strike a serious blow at the whole fabric of protection. He will increase the hostile feeling against him due to the fact that he has long undersold the foreigner in his own market, thereby making United States protected products cheaper to the foreign consumer than they are to the home consumer."

Mr. Nelson points to the fact that already, notwithstanding our comparatively small purchases from her, Canada is the largest buyer in the world of our agricultural implements, as well as of our books and other publications, while she ranks with the United Kingdom as a buyer of American cottons. "It is thoroughly well known that if we should enter into reciprocal tariff relations with her, Canada would depend upon the United States for most of her imports of manufactured articles."

Mr. Nelson contends that Mr. Chamberlain's purpose is to take advantage of the artificial trade condition which we have built up, and that this advantage is likely to be at the expense of the English consumer and of the United States farmer and manufacturer.

"The power rests with us to protect the American farmer from artificial and injurious competition in England, to enlarge the market

for American manufactures, and at the same time to promote those friendly international relations which make directly for the increase of civilization, and which would do more for the welfare of humanity than could possibly be accomplished by Mr. Chamberlain's proposed employment of a tariff war against the outside world for the purchase of fighting loyalty for the British Empire."

#### THE "UNION" VERSUS THE "OPEN" SHOP.

A STANCH friend of American labor unions, the editor of *Gunton's Magazine*, speaks out unreservedly, in the August number of that publication, against the policy of "unionizing" shops and industries as now carried out. He asks:

"Is 'unionizing a shop' consistent with the rights of the employer to conduct that part of his business which directly relates to him, and for which he alone is responsible? In theory, it is. Theoretically, the union says to the employer: 'You can employ and discharge whomsoever you choose; you can use such tools and machinery as you choose. All we contend for is that the laborers shall belong to unions.' To be a member of a trade-union should, and presumably does, guarantee that the man is a competent workman. But in fact is this the case? When a shop is unionized, does the employer have the rights that belong to him as the investor of capital and the responsible director of the industry? The fact is that the effect of unionizing a shop, in most cases, is that the management, as well as the laborers, is under a system of coercion."

Again, speaking of the long-drawn-out contest between the employers and the unions in the New York building trades, he says:

"Laborers have no more right to persecute employers or trifle with their interests and with the public convenience than capitalists have to persecute laborers, and until the unions resolutely set their faces against this kind of thing they are not fit to be intrusted with the unionization of employment. Despots should not be intrusted with absolute authority, in politics, industry, or ethics. It is this very conduct of abusing power (and not in the interest of labor or to better conditions, but in the mere destruction of property and wantonly or carelessly inconveniencing the public) that has led to the present revolt among employers."

#### THE TRUE FUNCTION OF LABOR UNIONS.

The editor proceeds to state what, in his opinion, should be the positive programme of the unions:

"In order thoroughly to unionize industry, the unions should make themselves of real service both to the employer and the community. In the first place, membership in a union should be a guarantee of the workmanship and character of the mechanic, so that it would be to the economic interest of employers to turn to the unions for laborers rather than to the street corners. Next, the unions should represent the honor of the craft in fidelity to work and the carrying out of contracts, as well as in the economic use of material. The union should be the power that stands between the employer and the individual workman, to insist that the employer shall not be injured or swindled, but that he shall have faithful service, and, on the other hand, that the interests of the laborer shall be protected. If the unions would make this their policy, they would become strong without coercion. The employers would prefer them, the public would encourage them, and the non-union men would lose by being on the outside. It would then be a discredit, not only in the eyes of laborers, but in the eyes of employers and the community, not to belong to the union. But so long as unions use their power to injure employers, waste material, and make intolerable demands, they will remain under the ban, and will tend to put non-union men at a premium."

"Until unions fill their function as economic organizations which not only make bargains but assume the responsibility for honorably carrying out contracts, the open shop will be a necessity in the community. The non-union laborer (not the 'scab') does, indeed, hinder the growth of exclusive power in the union; but this is a wholesome function. Unions are doing much good, but they are far from fit to be trusted with the monopoly of the labor market and conditions. So long as it is necessary to use coercion and physical methods to build up unions, it is safe to say that unions are not fit to be intrusted with exclusive power."

#### WHY THE OPEN SHOP IS PREFERABLE.

"The open shop is the place of natural selection; it is the free field for the play of economic forces. If employers generally will in good faith adopt the open shop,—that is to say, employ either union or non-union labor, and treat with the union men through their representative if they so elect, and the non-union men through their committees, or individually, as they elect,—then the union can grow on its merits. If by furnishing benefits to members, or being able to furnish them employment (because employers prefer union to non-union men), or by furnishing any other advantages, the unions grow, their

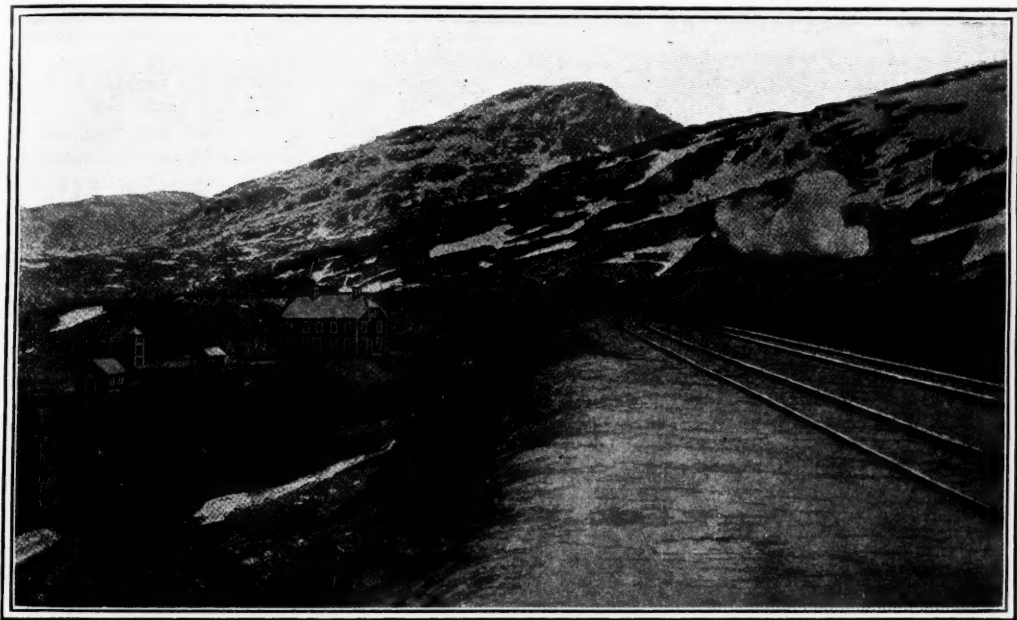
strength will be useful to laborers, employers, and the public; but so long as they can build up only by coercion they are sure to rule by despotism, and the despotism of unions is as sure to be overthrown as is despotism in any other sphere of human experience. Progress will not tolerate despotism, especially the despotism of wanton arrogance, and if the unions do not eliminate this from their practice, as well as from their theory, they are sure to be compelled to encounter non-union laborers, antagonism of employers, and the lack of confidence of the public.

"The time has gone when despotic employers can systematically persecute and coerce laborers.

#### THE NORTHERNMOST RAILROAD IN THE WORLD.

THE Lapland Express, which is noteworthy for being the northernmost railroad in the world, is described and illustrated in a recent issue of *Die Woche* by Viktor Ottman. During the short summer season trains run once a week between Stockholm and Narvik, on the Atlantic.

"The Lapland Express provides the quickest and most convenient connection with the Land of the Midnight Sun, for while the Norwegian coastwise steamers take four days to reach Narvik, the ordinary mail train covers the distance



SCENE ON THE NEW LAPLAND RAILWAY.

The standard of industrial morality in the community will not tolerate it. So, likewise, the coercion of unions will not be tolerated. So long as they live on coercion they will have to fight for their lives. Until they rise entirely above the spirit of persecution, they can not, and ought not, to receive the recognition of employers or the confidence and support of the public. This is a matter of education and experience. The standard of economic fairness in unions will be evolved only through struggle and repeated defeats. Until this is accomplished, the open shop is an economic necessity, as a part of the evolution of the real economic trade-union."

between Stockholm and Narvik in sixty-six hours, and the luxuriously fitted up new express train takes only forty-eight hours. The following round trip is the best way of traversing the Scandinavian countries: by train through Sweden, by way of Stockholm, to Narvik; thence by steamer to Trondhjem; through the mountains of Norway to Christiania, and by train back to Gothenburg. This route leads through the most beautiful part of Sweden, and is much preferable to the rather monotonous trip along the Norwegian coast."

It has, furthermore, the advantage of allowing a stop-over at Ange, to visit the interesting timber lands of Sundsvall and Jämtland, but

the tourist must wait here a whole week for the next train.

The Polar Circle is crossed at Station Polcirkeln, where the train enters the region of the midnight sun, which hangs in the sky for thirty-seven days and nights, from June 5 to July 11. The road was extended to Narvik, on the Ofoten fjord, a few years ago, on account of the untold mineral wealth hidden in the mountains of Luossavara and Kirunavara. The scenery becomes more grand the farther north one goes, and on the border stations between Sweden and Norway the curious Laplanders are an additional object of interest to the traveler.

### THE CONQUEST OF THE AIR.

TO the average reader undoubtedly the most interesting article in the *Revue de Paris* is that by Baron de Mauni, entitled "The Conquest of the Air." The baron is convinced that the world is on the eve of a tremendous revolution in everything that regards the transport, both of human beings and of merchandise; in other words, he considers that any day some painstaking Napoleon of science may conquer the air, as man has finally conquered the earth, annihilating distances both on land and sea. The writer gives a careful account of all that has been done in the past, but, of course, the most interesting portion of his article is that which deals with the present problem. The cigar-shaped balloon, or airship, which has taken the place of the round globes with which the brothers Mongolfier and their immediate disciples tried to conquer the air was, apparently, first thought of some thirty years ago.

### ELECTRICITY AND THE SOLUTION OF THE PROBLEM.

The birth of the electric motor brought the solution of the problem perceptibly nearer. In 1883, two Frenchmen made some successful experiments; and, in 1884, Captain Renard proved to his own and to his friends' triumphant satisfaction that he had gone yet a step further, for he proved that an airship could be steered to a given point and then brought back. The experiment was tried over a six-mile course, and the journey took twenty-three minutes. At that time,—that is, nineteen years ago,—all those interested in aerial navigation believed that the problem was finally solved, and that soon the civilized world would have a new means of transport at its command. As we all know, nothing of the kind took place. The French Government, which had seemed willing to put its immense resources at the disposal of Captain Renard and his partner, M. Krebs, drew back;

on the other hand, the steady progress made as regards electric motors seemed to indicate that the practical conquest of the air was only a matter of time.

### THE NEED FOR PUBLIC NOT PRIVATE AUTHORITY.

Unfortunately, according to Baron de Mauni, there has been no central authority; each inventor has, and who can blame him, his own axe to grind, and it is evident that the baron would like to see so important a question placed under government control, or, at any rate, directly encouraged and aided by the government. If there is no chance of this being done, then he considers that the only chance of practical success lies in the hands of certain great capitalists interested in the question, and he addresses a serious word of warning to those inventors who are experimenting with only a slender capital at their back. Supposing, he says, one of these men does discover or invent the one probably trifling addition to existent airship motors,—or what, for want of a better word, he styles anchors,—which would suddenly simplify the problem, unless he has pluck, money, and business brains, he is sure to see the result of his labor benefiting others.

### THE INTEREST IN AIRSHIPS.

During the last hundred years a hundred thousand patents have been registered in Europe and America by balloon and airship inventors, and as most of them are obviously of comparatively recent date, it is certain that a very much greater number of individuals than those uninterested in the subject are at all aware of or are eagerly looking out for an opportunity of making fame and fortune beyond the dreams of avarice.

### ARE AMERICAN RAILROADS MORE CARELESS THAN EUROPEAN?

IT is generally believed, and widely discussed, that American railroads are conducted with vastly less care in the matter of safeguarding life than the English and Continental roads, and that a comparison of the fatalities in this country with those in Europe would be very odious to us.

Mr. Slason Thompson examines into the matter in the *World's Work* for September, and shows facts that tend to modify the prevailing opinion.

### THE NUMBER KILLED BY THE RAILWAYS.

"Let us begin by presenting, from official sources, the bald figures of fatalities by railway accidents in the United States and the principal



countries of Europe, which, without explanation as to conditions and so on, afford such an easy text for the arraignment of American railways.

"NUMBER OF KILLED BY RAILWAY ACCIDENTS.

	Year.	Passengers.	Employees.	Other persons.
United States.....	1901	282	2,675	5,498
United Kingdom.....	1901	158	565	554
(a) Germany.....	1901	92	493	295
(a) France.....	1900	94	314	270
Russia.....	1899	64	367	765

(a) Exclusive of suicides, of which in Germany, in 1901, there were 258 fatal and fourteen unsuccessful."

#### THE FACTOR OF MILEAGE.

The table above quoted looks bad for American methods, but, in the first place, there is the enormously greater mileage of American railways, as shown in the following table :

RAILROAD MILEAGE IN 1901.

United States.....	195,561
United Kingdom .....	22,078
Germany.....	34,167
France.....	23,701
Russia in Europe .....	26,698
All Europe.....	176,174

\* Including 1,276 miles of narrow gauge.

"Probably the first impression gained from this table is that there are almost twice as many miles of railroad in the United States as in the four other countries combined. This confronts us with the reassuring fact that, with almost twice the mileage, the number of passengers killed in America, in 1901, was only 282 to 408 in the United Kingdom, Germany, France, and Russia."

#### NUMBER OF PASSENGERS CARRIED.

When the comparison is made on the passengers carried alone, the showing, on its face, is not so favorable to American railways.

NUMBER OF PASSENGERS CARRIED TO ONE KILLED.

United States.....	2,153,469
United Kingdom.....	7,420,000
Germany.....	9,778,000
France.....	4,821,000
Russia.....	1,444,000

"But here again the adverse story of the figures almost disappears, except as to Germany, when the distance passengers are carried is taken into the computation. In the United States, the distance of the average railway journey is almost thirty miles (28.58); in England, it is scarcely ten miles, while in Germany it is fifteen miles, in France twenty-one miles, and Russia sixty-five miles.

#### FATALITIES AMONG EMPLOYEES.

Even in the matter of the fatalities among employees, where on the surface the United States seems to show such an odious disproportion, there are qualifying facts to be considered. Per mile, as we have already seen, it is not as great as in any of the other countries except France. There are two other tests by which it should be judged,—the number of employees and the task they perform. These are shown in the following table :

"THE NUMBER OF EMPLOYEES, AND TONS OF FREIGHT MOVED.

United States.....	1,071,169	1,089,226,440
United Kingdom.....	440,347	416,033,441
Germany.....	322,000	359,348,290
France.....	251,971	126,829,723
Russia.....	414,152	130,300,000

"As the average haul, per ton, in the United States is 251 miles, against only 60 in Great Britain, the ratio of fatalities accompanying the moving of America's enormous freight business is actually less per ton-mile than under the highly organized and denser conditions of transportation prevailing in Europe, outside of Russia."

Mr. Thompson analyzes all the American railway accidents, and shows that a tremendous proportion of them happened at points other than stations and railway crossings, which indicates "the indifference of the average American to the danger of being where he has no legal right or necessity to be." He believes that these facts show railway employment to be no more dangerous in the United States than elsewhere, when all the circumstances of the vast territory, the enormous traffic, the great distances, and the nervous temperament of our people are taken into consideration. The official statistics show a marked decrease in the proportional fatalities as compared with a decade ago.

#### ARE THE CUP CONTESTS PROFITABLE?

MANY sentimental advantages have been attributed to international yacht-racing during the half-century that has elapsed since the *America's Cup* was won, and for many years it was thought that the material gains compensated for the trouble; but a writer in the *Rudder* for August, Mr. Winfield M. Thompson, representing amateur yachtsmen, takes quite a different point of view.

"The triumphs of international yachting," he says, "are a fillip to patriotism and a stimulus to the imagination of a people, increasing their faith in themselves and their own achievements. Thus its importance is what we make it. Study of its

material side might lead to the conviction that the lessons it teaches in building and design are not so valuable to the victors when viewed without sentiment as when seen through the eye of the enthusiastic patriot."

Are our boats to-day better or worse, he asks, than in the schooner days of the late sixties and early seventies, when men laid their racing courses across the Atlantic? Have we progressed or retrograded in seamanship?

"At the risk of being considered a pessimist, the lover of a good vessel must acknowledge he cannot find much that is gratifying in the present conditions in cup racing. The contestants in cup matches to-day represent an extreme type of single-masted vessel, fit only for the one purpose for which, at enormous cost, they are built; ungainly to handle, and dangerous to all who must sail on them. With 90 to 100 tons of ballast slung in a deep, thin fin beneath a shallow hull, a mast 170 feet long from heel to truck, 15,000 square feet of sail, and plating the thickness of a dinner plate, the up-to-date cup racer is not an inviting craft on which to sail. So rare an exotic is she among vessels that her sails must not be wet, she is never taken out in a hard blow unless such a thing cannot be avoided, and she never is out over night. She costs so much that only the very rich may pay for her, and she is so big that her owner, no matter how keen an amateur, cannot hope to sail her successfully in a race. She is followed about by tugs, tenders, and launches, a veritable flotilla of attendants, and the cost of running her and these a season exceeds the annual revenues of a duchy. When her brief racing season is over, she is put aside, and another season is supplanted by another of her kind, on which another fortune is spent, with the result of more size, more lead, more sail, more danger, more unwieldiness, and perhaps a few seconds a mile more speed. This all may be as it should be. In these times, the original purpose of yachting is lost sight of in cup racing. We no longer look for health and pleasure through the exercise of Corinthian seamanship and a touch of simple life afloat. We seek elusive speed, and must gain it with all the means of our present 'higher' civilization.

"What boots it if our boats be monstrous machines which no one wants? Have they not speed, and does not speed keep the cup? On every hand is heard the wish that cup races might be sailed with more rational vessels, but yet we hold to our lust for speed and affect not the view of Pyrrhus, who, after overcoming the Romans at great cost to his army, declared, 'Another such victory, we are undone.'"

#### AN ENGLISH OUT-OF-DOOR SCHOOL.

SIGNIFICANT of the trend to natural methods in English school management is the account of the Ruskin school-home in Norfolk, written by Mr. Blathwayt for *Cassell's Magazine*. Mr. Harry Lowerison, familiarly known to his pupils as "Pater," adopts as far as possible the Socratic method of teaching by questions, drawing out of the children what they know; the thought process they can trace for themselves. He is opposed to the enormous quantity of unnecessary "knowledge" foisted upon children. To quote his own words:

"It is far better to take the child straight to nature. He will detest an algebraic symbol; but take a flower, and how he will delight when he is shown the symbol of its delicate petals! Let botany take the place, as far as possible, of dry mathematics, and see, in the end, if the child's mind is not as well disciplined and exercised, and if, indeed, it is not actually twice as intelligent as it would be if brought up in the deadly old routine which all are now beginning to regard as a failure—for the child-mind, at all events. Later on, Euclid will help to develop the reasoning powers of a boy's mind. But first cultivate the imagination. Children are very fond of geography and history, properly taught.

"I always try to teach history and geography together. Indeed, the two are so interlaced that you cannot separate them. They melt into one another imperceptibly. And I never trouble them with dates."

In reply to a doubt as to the practical nature of the teaching, Mr. Lowerison replied:

"Nothing can be more practical than reading, writing, arithmetic, Euclid, history, geography, French, and German. Only I try to dovetail the subjects one with another as well as I can. Geography leads to commerce, and commerce to arithmetic, which shall also deal with concrete problems from the first—concrete as the only form in which the adult knows them, and problems as developing the reasoning faculty rather than the merely imitative and memorizing powers.

"Again, I take a large class of boys out into the country for practical work in surveying and mensuration, and every rabbit-hutch or chair or table made in our workshop is a combined exercise first of geometry and careful computation of material and cost. But botany is perhaps our chief subject. People wonder why I lay so much stress on botany. I will tell you.

"First, because it trains the mind in habits of keen observation, careful recording, and close reasoning."

And, secondly, because through botany it is possible to teach the deepest secrets of human life. "Throughout my whole course, I strive to combine with a certain rough practical common sense high ethical teaching."

#### A CATHOLIC DEFENSE OF VIVISECTION.

"**C**RUELTY to Animals and Theology" is the title of a striking paper by the Right Rev. Mgr. J. S. Vaughan in the *Humane Review* for July. It is a definite pronouncement against the position of the Humane Society, that "animals have rights." He asserts himself, and quotes Cardinals Newman and Manning to the same effect, that we have no duties toward the brutes. He modifies this by stating that we owe a duty to God to imitate his mercy and to avoid cruelty. He goes on to show where "the ordinary anti-vivisectionist parts company with the Church and her theologians." He says:

"Observe, firstly. We cannot do away with pain. We can only diminish it. And this we are most anxious to do. Secondly, where circumstances are such that pain *must* fall either upon man or beast,—that is to say, where there is no third course open to us,—we prefer it to fall on the beast, and not on the man. The anti-vivisectionist, on the contrary, prefers it to fall on the man, and in this he seems to us to be guilty of cruelty.

"Here is, let us say, an ordinary good-natured and able physician, whom we will call Dr. X. His whole aim and object is to diminish pain and to allay suffering. It is not in his power to destroy it; therefore, he directs his efforts to alleviate it. He knows that men are by far the most sensitive of sufferers. He knows that they are subject to certain painful diseases. He has good reasons to think that a certain treatment would bring great relief, and perhaps even produce a cure. But his reasoning *may* be defective, and he cannot ascertain, with any degree of certainty, whether his opinion be well founded, unless and until he can test his theories by actual experiment. That is to say, he must actually apply the remedies. It is essential that he should make the experiment on a living organization of some kind. But upon whom?

#### SICK CHILD OR RABBIT?

"Well, there are but two classes of creatures to choose from. He must make it either upon a human being or else upon a beast; either, let us say, upon a sick child or upon a rabbit. The anti-vivisectionist objects to all experiments on animals, and, in effect, answers, 'The experiment must be made on the sick child, not on the

rabbit.' And this is why we call the anti-vivisectionist cruel. We, on the contrary, hold that the experiment should be made on the rabbit or other beast, and not upon the poor unfortunate child. Yet, on that account, we are called cruel! Our reason for maintaining this view is: First, because the beast is less sensitive to pain. Secondly, because its loss of life, should the experiment prove abortive, is of far less consequence. Thirdly, because the child is our very own flesh and blood, and a member of our great human family, and has immeasurably greater claims upon our pity. 'Ye are of more value than many sparrows' (Matt. x. 31). Fourthly, because God has given man dominion over the beasts of the field and the birds of the air (Genesis ix.). For these and other reasons, we consider that far more real mercy and tenderness and commiseration are shown in allowing necessary experiments to be made upon beasts rather than upon men. 'Experimentum fit in corpore vili.'"

Monsignor Vaughan goes on to argue that the whole object and purpose of vivisection is, not to cause pain, but to cure pain, and on these merciful grounds he defends its use, but certainly not its abuse. He adds:

"Indeed, we feel more than ever persuaded that the really merciful and humane are those who advocate a properly supervised and well-conducted system of experiments on animals. It is such persons whom we recognize as the real benefactors of the race."

#### THE PLANKTON OF LAKE LUCERNE.

**P**LANKTON is a general term applied to all the smaller organisms living in the water, and has assumed an economic importance because it is the material on which fishes feed, its abundance or scarcity producing immediate effects in the fisheries.

The last number of the *Vierteljahrsschrift der Naturforschenden Gesellschaft in Zurich* contains a report of investigations made by M. Henri Lozeon upon the vertical distribution of the plankton of Lake Lucerne which is an interesting contribution to a subject that is exciting considerable interest on account of its relation to the problem of fish culture.

The writer makes a distinction between phytoplankton, or plant forms, and zooplankton, or animal forms, although among these simple organisms plants and animals are so much alike that it is difficult to distinguish them. The plant forms cannot resist currents in the water, although many of them have organs of motion and can swim about in still water. Zooplankton, on the contrary, comprising small animals

provided with swimming organs, is but little influenced by feeble currents, and consequently, the animals go where they choose, searching for whatever they may need. They collect wherever conditions are most favorable to them, and their distribution indicates the action of forces different from those affecting the more passive plant forms, which are distributed chiefly by means of currents caused by the inflow of rivers, or by differences in the density of the water at different levels due to unequal heating, the surface becoming warmer, and therefore lighter, than the deeper layers, so that they displace each other.

The distribution of phytoplankton varies, not only from season to season, but from month to month, and often within intervals of only a few days. The various water plants are found at various depths, each one apparently being best adapted to life at some special distance from the surface. *Oscillatoria*, a thread-like water plant that can swim slowly in still water, was found in July at depths varying from twenty to sixty feet, the greatest growth being found at a depth of forty feet. The most reasonable explanation for the vertical distribution of plants is that each kind is kept within certain limits on account of its specific gravity, except as it is carried beyond these limits by currents or wind.

The flora may be very different in two lakes communicating with each other, one lake having a much larger amount of plant life, as well as a greater variety of forms, and some kinds may be abundant in one lake but entirely lacking in the other.

There are two periods at which the phytoplankton reaches its maximum development,—one just at the end of winter and the beginning of spring, the other at the end of summer; and there are two minimum periods of development,—one at the beginning of winter, the other at the end of spring and the beginning of summer.

During the winter, quantities of plankton are found at great depths, living, and as brightly colored as when growing at the surface in summer, but they die in the spring if the currents do not raise them to a more favorable level.

The most striking characteristic of the animal forms making up the zoöplankton is their daily vertical migrations, which are independent of the currents and are due to their own activities, probably on account of their sensitiveness to the action of the light, which causes them to go down to deeper water when the sun shines, in order to reach a depth that is only partially lighted.

In Lake Lucerne, the zoöplankton never went below a depth of forty-two feet, while in other lakes near they migrated to a depth of seventy

or one hundred feet, showing that the water of those lakes was more transparent.

The zoöplankton rise to the surface during the night, often collecting in a layer about one foot thick. It has been observed that when there is bright moonlight the organisms rise nearer to the surface; but when it is cloudy, they distribute themselves more regularly through a depth of about seven feet.

The depth to which the organisms descend depends upon the intensity of the light which penetrates the water, and this varies with the transparency of the water, due to its color and the amount of matter in suspension.

All animal forms of plankton do not have the same degree of aversion for light, certain small shellfish being most sensitive to it, while the microscopic, transparent wheel animalcules are least affected by it.

#### THE LEPER DISTRICT OF NORTHERN NIGERIA.

DR. TONKIN, medical officer of the Hausa Association's Central Sudan Expedition, contributes to the *Empire Review* a most interesting paper on a leper field, some five hundred miles wide, crossing the British dependency of northern Nigeria, in which he himself covered some fifteen hundred miles, all leper-stricken country. Dr. Tonkin spent twelve months in the Sudan, examining hundreds of these lepers. He first induced them to come to him for treatment,—when he did all he could to alleviate their sufferings, so that these lepers went and told other lepers, and the doctor's entrance porch was soon crowded with sufferers. The half-million square miles of country between the western shores of Lake Chad and the Middle Niger River, of which Dr. Tonkin thinks he has seen enough to speak definitely, have recently been taken over by the government from the Royal Niger Company. It is for the subjugation of this territory that General Lugard is pressing,—a territory where the lowest races are naked and cannibal savages.

#### ABSOLUTE FREEDOM FOR LEPERS.

Kano, the chief commercial center of northern Nigeria, is a leper hive. Of the leper colonies within its fifteen miles of earthworks, Dr. Tonkin says:

"In the dark tomb-like huts, which the heat and glare from the sun and the persistent impertinence of the fly tribe render necessary in these parts of the Sudan, the smell emanating from the neglected ulcers of scores of leprous occupants hangs like an oily, fetid fog upon the air. The disease is so common that, in spite of



the repulsive appearance of the sufferers, the general public of the country have got used to it, regarding it as one of the stable things of the world, and the chance of catching it as one of the ills to which flesh is inevitably heir. They do nothing to limit that chance. Lepers are permitted to mingle freely with the healthy population, engage in business, and marry when they can."

They are subject to no disabilities on account of their disease ; indeed, it seems as if leprosy were rather encouraged than otherwise. What still further spreads the disease is the habit of the rich, whether leprosy or not, of never washing their clothes, but, when soiled, passing them on to those in the next social grade below ; these, in turn, wear them till still dirtier, and then pass them on, so that the same clothes may accumulate the dirt and disease of fifty different individuals.

## WATER THEATRICALS.

IN the first half of the last century, not a few of the newly settled towns and cities along American waterways depended for dramatic entertainments on floating theaters. These enterprises first attracted notice in connection with the growth of commerce along the Erie Canal, in New York State, but the idea soon spread to the Ohio and Mississippi rivers. The development of the business is thus described by "A Veteran Manager" in the August number of the *Theatre* (New York):

"About 1836, Henry Butler, an old theatrical manager, saw no reason why the Erie Canal could not be utilized for the amusement business as well as carrying passengers and freight. He had previously been up and down the Mohawk Valley with his theater company, and had found difficulty in finding rooms to play in, so he conceived the idea of fitting up a canal boat for a traveling theater, and in the same year he started from Troy, N. Y., with his floating theater and museum, stopping from one day to a week in a place, according to its size. In the daytime, he exhibited only the museum part of his 'show,' which contained all the usual concomitants,—stuffed birds, lions, tigers, Washington, Napoleon, Captain Kidd, the twelve apostles in wax, etc. In the evening, his small company of Thespians gave performances on the little stage erected at the end of the boat.

“He had among his actors Jack Turner, who had a reputation for playing sailor parts, and the company would present such plays as ‘Black-eyed Susan,’ ‘Long Tom Coffin,’ and other dramas of the sea. Butler sailed up and down the raging canal with his playship in this manner for a number of years, till he went blind; but he stuck to his old boat, which he finally turned entirely into a museum. Although blind, he could be found at all exhibition hours in his little box-office dispensing tickets to adults for one shilling, and to children under a certain age for sixpence. He had no way of telling a child’s age except by ascertaining the height. This he



CHAPMAN'S FLOATING THEATER MOORED TO A WHARF, WITH DOORS OPEN FOR THE PERFORMANCE.

would do by feeling for their heads. If that useful appendage came under his conception of the six-cent line, the owner got in at children's prices. The boys used to fool him by stooping, consequently he often touched and passed judgment on heads out of their proper sphere.

"Another floating theater, famous in its day, was that built and managed for a number of years by William Chapman, Sr., who was born in England in 1764. When quite a young man, he joined Richardson's Traveling Theater, which at that time was one of the principal exhibitions of its kind, visiting the fairs throughout England, traveling, exhibiting and lodging in their own vans. In 1803, he made his first appearance on the London stage as *Sir Bertram*, in 'The Jew.' In 1827, he came to America, and on September 14 of the same year he appeared at the Bowery Theater, New York, as *Billy Luckaday* in 'Sweethearts and Wives.' The next year he brought over to this country his family,—wife, sons, and daughters,—who had all followed in the footsteps of their father, and had adopted the same profession. Shortly after, Chapman formed a company of Thespians, consisting of his folks and others, which he called the Chapman Family, and started for the Southwest. At Pittsburg, Pa., they made a long stop, and for the want of a hall or suitable room, they played in the dining-room of the Old Red Lion Hotel. While in Pittsburg one Captain Brown built for them a floating theater, which was the first of the kind of any pretensions that played up and down the Ohio and Mississippi rivers. Chapman adopted the old English way of exhibition and living on his boat, and for many years he traveled with his ark up and down the Ohio and Mississippi rivers, visiting all the principal towns. He died on his boat in 1839, and was buried at Manchester, Miss. Mrs. Chapman then undertook the management, and conducted it very successfully for a number of years.

"In 1847, Mrs. Chapman, who was getting old, retired from the business with ample means, and sold her floating theater, which had been rebuilt for her a few years before, to Sol Smith, another well-known Western theatrical manager and actor of those days. But Sol Smith was not long in the possession of the boat. The first season he was out with it, when winding his way down the Ohio, he came in collision with a steamboat, which split his craft into halves. Sol Smith and his company managed to escape with their lives, and after a hard struggle up the precipitous and clay bank of the stream, succeeded in finding a firm footing at the top, but they were obliged to walk until daylight before they reached shelter.

"Sol Smith's forte was low comedy. In these river towns old people may be found to-day who, on hearing his name, will recall their younger days, when they saw him in those characters for which he was so deservedly celebrated, and these same persons will declare that they saw better acting in the old boat performances than they see in the luxurious theaters of to-day. Many long to see again those old Thespians on the little stage built upon one end of the boat, the muslin curtain, and tallow candles for footlights. They would like to sit once more on the hard board seats, stretched from one side of the boat to the other. The only undesirable seats on the boat were under the blazing tallow-dropping chandelier, which consisted of a circular hoop, with tallow dips, hanging over the audience from the ceiling of the old boat."

#### SOME TRIBUTES TO LEO XIII.

IN the *Quarterly Review* there is a good article on the late Pope, which pays high tribute to his personal character, but criticises somewhat severely his political career.

##### AS A STATESMAN.

The reviewer says :

"As a statesman and diplomatist, Leo XIII. has scarcely merited the ecomiums which the press has so lavishly bestowed upon him during many years. His policy has been rather that of the opportunist, at once bold and clever, than that of the far-seeing statesman. It might almost be said to embody the subtle but radical difference existing between statecraft and statesmanship. In no single instance in which Leo XIII. pitted himself against European diplomacy has his action gained for the Holy See more than a temporary victory, while the price paid to gain the friendship of the various governments which might one day bring pressure to bear upon Italy in order to compel the latter to restore the temporal power was occasionally so high as to endanger the spiritual interests of Roman Catholicism itself.

"The insatiable political ambition of the Pope, and of those who shaped his policy, robbed his diplomatic triumph of any solid after-effects. In his struggle with the Prussian Government, as afterward in his more insidious policy toward France, Leo XIII. overrated the strength of the weapons he condescended to employ, and neither in Germany nor in France does it appear that Roman Catholicism will reap any lasting benefits from the temporary triumphs obtained by Vaticanism during the late pontificate."

## AS A SOCIALIST.

The reviewer thinks that the Pope aspired to be a great social reformer, and might have succeeded,—if he had stood to his guns.

“His personal conception of the duties of the Church toward the laboring classes was Catholic in the broadest and best sense of the term. It was such a conception as befitted the chief pastor of Christendom. His aim was nothing less than the reconstruction of social order among the masses, and the placing of the relations between capital and labor, between employer and employed, on a common basis of mutual responsibility, the foundation of this common basis being the Word of God as interpreted by his church. It is possible,—nay, even probable,—that had Leo XIII. been a strong enough Pope to shake himself free from the retrograde influences surrounding him, and a strong enough man to overcome his own latent dread of Socialism as an irreligious movement, he would have succeeded in so dividing the Socialist forces that everything in those forces making for the prosperity of humanity would have ultimately been at the service and disposal of Latin Christianity,—at least, in such countries as number a large Roman Catholic population.”

The publication of his famous encyclical on labor was followed by the formation of a powerful Christian Socialist party in Italy.

“The movement soon aroused the suspicion and enmity of the Jesuits and the Ultramontane party at the Vatican, with the result that, on January 18, 1901, the Pope issued an encyclical, ‘*Graves de communi re*,’ by which the more liberal concessions made in the ‘*Rerum Novarum*’ were practically annulled. The new encyclical inhibited the Christian Democrats from political action, and placed them under the direct ecclesiastical guidance of the ‘*Opera dei Congressi Cattolici*.’ This was followed by a note addressed by Cardinal Rampolla, the Papal secretary of state, and, as many believe, the evil genius of Leo XIII., to the Italian bishops. In this document, Christian Democrats and all Catholic writers and individuals occupying themselves with Catholic matters are ordered ‘always to keep the people mindful of the intolerable position of the Holy See since the usurpation of its civil principality.’ It further gives the bishops entire control of the Christian Democratic movement.”

## As a Conservative.

Mr. Wilfrid Ward contributes to the *Fortnightly Review* a long article on Pope Leo XIII. It is a summary rather than an appreciation,

and is somewhat scrappy and disjointed. He regards the late Pope as distinctly a conservative. He never had the belief in liberty which led Pius IX., in 1846, so nearly to accept the alliance of Mazzini. He believed merely in recognizing and making use of the modern spirit.

“We must use the modern liberties,—our ultimate ideal being largely to get rid of them. Pius IX. began with a certain sanguine trust in the more generous features of modern liberalism. Disappointment led to reaction, and made him the intransigent opponent of all that savored of liberalism. Leo never idealized liberalism; and, consequently, he was kinder to it. There never appeared in his utterances any enthusiasm for the sacred rights of liberty, or even much appreciation of the value of liberty in the search for truth. His frequent deprecation of free discussion was not tempered by an express recognition of its indispensable necessity in certain fields of inquiry. Truth was regarded by him as the possession of the Church.”

His intellectual conservatism made some thinkers tremble lest a veritably medieval standard should be insisted on in philosophy and biblical studies.

“Dreams or prejudices may have existed, but they never practically and permanently misled him. His dreams of reunion with the East and with England have been smiled at, but his critics cannot point to any rash act to which they led him. His ideal of a universal reign of Thomistic philosophy alarmed some of our best thinkers, but it was not, in the long run, pressed to practical excess. His sympathy with Christian Democracy was in his public utterances carefully safeguarded. In the matter of biblical criticism, if he did not fully appreciate the situation intellectually, his practical action was, in course of time, guided by the real needs of the hour.”

Most of Mr. Ward’s article deals with the historical aspect of the Pope’s work. Among the features of the reign which he mentions are the numerous creations of new hierarchies, the movement toward centralization, the multiplication of ecclesiastical colleges in Rome, his encouragement of historical studies, and his liberality in throwing open the Vatican library even to non-Catholics.

## A Young Soul Embalmed.

The *Contemporary Review* opens with a very interesting article, signed “Emilio Elbano,” on the late Pope. The writer paints a very clear picture of the Pope’s character, which seems to have been dominated by the Ultramontane doctrine of absolutism. The Pope, he says, never changed. The Pecci of nineteen speaks, writes,

and doubtless thinks as did Leo XIII. on the throne of St. Peter. Original research, independent thought, fair criticism, philosophic doubt, were always regarded as ways that lead to perdition. "One feels tempted to speak of an embalming of the young soul, of its preservation in theological spirits, rather than of a natural growth."

#### LEO'S AMBITIONS.

The writer remarks that Pope Leo was by no means the ultra-spiritual, selfless being that is generally made out. From the beginning of his career he showed a great deal of worldly ambition. It would be a grave mistake to accept the estimate of those enthusiastic and uncritical biographers who stamp the Holy Father's every act, intention, and word as that of a canonized saint, with the hall-mark of absolute selflessness and entire resignation to God's will. He had a good eye for the main chance, and as long ago as 1837 was writing :

Thanks to the favor of his Holiness, I am now on a new road, on which I will strive with all my might to meet the wishes of the family and contribute in every way to what may increase its honor and glory. Since I entered upon my present career I have pursued only one aim : I endeavored to do my very utmost to render my conduct praiseworthy in order to advance in hierarchical posts, and thereby at the same time to raise the well-merited consideration which our family enjoys in the country. As I am still young, I shall doubtless win such a career as will redound to the family honor, always provided that my conduct remains blameless, and that I do not lack interest,—two indispensable conditions in Rome, as you know, in order to rise surely and swiftly.

He was a brilliant and solid administrator. When severity seemed essential he employed it, and no supplication could turn him from his course ; but the moment he was able to dispense with it he was mild, indulgent, paternal. Security of life and property were the first fruits of his rule ; he then bettered the conditions of social life, had good roads constructed, furthered trade and industry, lightened the burden of taxation, and left nothing undone to win the people.

#### RULER AND BENEFACTOR.

"As a bishop he regulated the finances of his diocese with extreme care and perfect success, he made serious financial sacrifices in order to raise the status of his clergy, paid out of his own slender purse the salaries of some of the professors of his seminary, founded a fund for old and invalid ecclesiastics, came generously to the aid of the famine-stricken population (1853), opened a school for the education of girls of the working classes, to whom, when their conduct was satisfactory, he had dowries given on their

marriage day, and last, but not least, he had homes founded for fallen women desirous of leading clean lives and regaining their position in society. In a word, his purse was ever open to succor the poor and suffering."

#### THE POPE AS PRESS CENSOR.

But the knowledge of how to use worldly instruments for worldly ends never forsook him, and he was as acute in his old age as in his youth.

"As a diplomatist, it is no exaggeration to say that he had not his equal in Europe or the world. To find another statesman worthy to rank with Leo XIII. as a clever mover of human pawns on the chessboard of the world one must hark back to the Italy of the Middle Age. From the press, too, he hoped much, and realized not a little. In Rome alone he had for a considerable time no less than five journals in his service, the editors of which were absolutely dependent on his nod. Above all things, he required that they should display prudence, foresight, and moderation in form. A blunder he never pardoned. The French editor of one of those journals, having attacked with excessive bitterness and unpapal brutality the Italian Government, was accused by the government press of abusing the law of hospitality, and threatened with expulsion. He replied by saying that Rome being the patrimony of the Pope, he, as a Catholic, had a better right to be there than the supporters of a dynasty which had entered its gates by force. The Pope, on reading that article, dismissed the editor on the spot, and silenced the journal forever. The Pontiff, who may without any exaggeration be described as the most modern of the cardinals of Rome, possessed a very clear notion of the value of money as a means of influence, and he was not chary of using it. Indeed, it was on his own initiative that a vast politico-financial enterprise was called into being many years ago, the aim and object of which was to supply motive power to the Holy See."

#### An Anglican Estimate.

The *Church Quarterly Review* contains a sympathetic survey of the career of Leo XIII. His pastoral charges of 1877 and 1878 are summed up by the reviewer in two names,—“for the philosophy of religion, Gioberti ; for politics, Lammenais.” He had then “already pronounced the name of Christian Economics.” Of his recognition of the French Republic, in February, 1890, it is recalled that Signor Castelar exclaimed, “I know few political manifestoes in history to be compared with this of Leo XIII.”



And "in high circles it was rumored that when Emperor Alexander had read this epoch-making document he observed, 'I see now that the French Republic is neither a dream nor a danger.'" His encyclical on the condition of the working classes (in 1891) the reviewer describes as "probably the greatest event of his reign," and quotes with approval M. de Vogüé, that "the Holy Father has not indeed solved the social problem, but he has stated it more precisely than ever was done before." The result has been a "movement so vast on the surface that we dare not attempt a map of it."

"If an extreme form of Socialist propaganda should ever frighten governments, and the day dawn when it is said, 'La Commune, voilà l'ennemi!' a coalition between the Roman Church, the constitutional states abroad, and a large section of the working class may be anticipated with confidence. For such a union, the encyclical, just because it is in theory somewhat of a compromise, would be admirably suited. Its moderation may prove to be its strength. But meanwhile it has done much to prevent an early crisis, and to smooth over transitions, should they turn out to be inevitable."

The constitution for the Eastern Churches, published in 1894, will, says the reviewer, remain as a draft or protocol on which, at some future day, the union of the churches may be attempted. His appeals to England did, indeed, acknowledge that religion in Great Britain rested on the Bible, "and this was a fresh note in Papal encyclicals." The reviewer thus summarizes the late Pope's distinctive achievement:

"By his action as well as his teaching, Leo shook off the incubus which for a hundred years and more had been fastened on the Church; he broke the entangling alliance of 'altar and king,' he disowned the Bourbons, and he blessed democracy altogether. If the Roman Pontiff could not be reconciled with 'progress, liberalism, and modern civilization,' taken in a bad sense, he could show that they were capable of a better, and, as it was boldly said, he might baptize 1789 after receiving its abjuration. No later Pope can undo these things. With Pius IX., the old order came at last to an end; with Leo XIII., the new has started on its way."

#### The Conclave.

Dr. Dillon, in the *Contemporary Review*, writes at length on the Conclave. Dr. Dillon says he is convinced that the right of veto possessed by the great Catholic powers will never again be employed in any Conclave. He thinks that neither Italian citizens nor Vatican officials desire a reconciliation with the Quirinal. A Papacy which would live in friendship with the Italian Government would be, *ipso facto*, shorn of half its splendor and deprived of much of its liberty of action.

"The crown of martyrdom and the belief that it encircles the brow of the Sovereign Pontiff contributes more efficaciously to win for him the hearts of millions of his spiritual children than the most brilliant diplomatic successes."

#### Ceremonies of the Conclave.

There is a very useful article in the *Monthly Review*, by Mr. F. W. Rolfe, explaining the various ceremonies connected with the Pope's death, and the ritual of the Conclave. In theory, as the election of the Pope is a manifestation of the Holy Spirit, not only cardinals, but all the baptized males, are eligible for the Papacy. There have been several cases of Popes who were not first cardinals. The ceremony of the adoration which takes place after the new Pope's election is rendered to God, whose vicegerent on earth is the Pope, and not to the Pope himself.

"The insignia of the apostolate are the Fisherman's Ring, the Keys of Heaven and Hell, the Triple Cross, the Triple Crown, Tiara, or Tririen. The Pope receives the ring at his election. A few days later, he is crowned by the cardinal-archdeacon in the basilica of St. Peter-by-the-Vatican. On the morning of his incoronation, he is awakened by a procession of curial prelates, who gravely ostend the bronze figure of a crowing cock in remembrance of the fall of his first predecessor, St. Peter. In the Sistine Chapel he is vested for mass in red, with precious mitre of gold and gems. Preceded by seven acolytes with seven candles and the triple cross, he descends to St. Peter's. At the Holy Door he receives the homage of the Chapter. At the Gregorian Chapel he receives cardinalitial and prelatial homage."



## THE PERIODICALS REVIEWED.

### HARPER'S MAGAZINE.

**A**N interesting scientific article appears in the September *Harper's*, from Dr. Allan Macfadyen, on the "Effects of Low Temperatures Upon Organic Life." Plant life is much more tolerant than animal life of extremes of temperature, growth having been observed, in some instances, as low as zero, and in other instances as high as 72° Centigrade. It is perfectly true that a freezing process does not destroy life. A fish or frog will be frozen solid, and on rethawing become quite lively again. The seeds of plants can actually undergo for hours a temperature of liquid hydrogen and yet retain their germinative power. Professor Dewar has recently submitted living bacteria to the temperature of liquid hydrogen, about -250° Centigrade, and about as near absolute zero as we can get, and after an immersion for ten hours there was no appreciable effect on the vitality of the organisms. Again, these organisms were immersed directly in liquid air and were kept at a temperature of -190° Centigrade for six months without impairing their vitality. "It is difficult to form a conception of living matter under this novel condition, which is neither life nor death; or, to select a term which will adequately describe it, it represents living matter in a new and hitherto unobtained third condition, and constitutes perhaps the most ultimate realization of the laws of suspended animation."

#### A STANDARD OF PRONUNCIATION.

In a second essay on "The Standard of Pronunciation in English," Prof. T. R. Lounsbury argues that no work of the many existing can be accepted as a final authority on pronunciation, and that an English-speaking person is justified in picking out any good authority and sticking to it. However, he remarks, "The pronouncing dictionary which a man uses exists for his own guidance; it does not enable him to criticise the practice of those who dissent from its teachings." Professor Lounsbury considers that there is a perfect ignorance among many men of letters on this subject, and he does not sympathize with the determined opposition to any change from their pronunciation. "It requires a far more enlightened opinion than prevails yet among the large majority of these before we can look for the success of any effort to cause our tongue to approach even remotely to the phonetic excellence of Italian or Spanish or German."

#### CHARLES LAMB'S ROMANCE.

John Hollingshead recalls "Charles Lamb's One Romance," the affair of Elia with the versatile and sympathetic actress, Frances M. Kelly. Charles Lamb dreamed of a household in which his sister and his wife and he could live together, joined by a link of congenial literary taste. He made Miss Kelly a written offer of marriage, which is printed in this reminiscent article, together with the frank declination of the object of his affections.

Stoddard Dewey describes "A Paris School Colony," which is illustrated by Boutet de Monvel; Dr. A. J. Grout has a pleasant botanical article, "Some Successful Plants;" and Natalie Curtis writes on the music of the Hopi Indians of the Arizona wilderness.

### THE CENTURY MAGAZINE.

**M**R. RAY STANNARD BAKER'S opening article in the September *Century*, "The Day of the Run," gives a graphic description of the rush over the boundary to the newly opened lands of an Indian reservation. Where there are unusually choice pieces of land there are pretty sure to be men who do not make a fair start, who slip over the line in the dark, and are hastening to the coveted territory while honest settlers are still waiting beyond the boundary. There are guards to prevent this dishonesty, but thirty-five Indian police, protecting four hundred and eighteen thousand acres (six hundred and fifty square miles), leave plenty of room for fraud. Such a body of land would have a hundred miles of boundary. "Yet the United States Government is conducting this game, seeing that it is honestly played!"

#### OUR POPULATION AND MANUFACTURES.

Among the points made by the Hon. W. R. Merriam in "Noteworthy Results of the Twelfth Census" is the rapidity of our population growth. In 1890, the United States had a population of 62,979,766; in 1900, the population, including the 7,000,000 people of the Philippines, the 1,000,000 of Porto Rico, and the 15,000 of Guam and Samoa, had increased to 84,233,069. The only countries surpassing the United States in number of inhabitants are the Chinese Empire, the British Empire, the Russian Empire, and probably France, if its African possessions are included. Mr. Merriam thinks one of the most remarkable results of the census is the showing made by manufactures. The products of the factory and shop in the United States now exceed in value those of the farm. Simply the value added to the raw materials by the manufacturing processes amounts to \$5,678,286,148, exceeding by almost \$2,000,000,000 the reported net value of agricultural products. Prior to 1890, manufactures, as measured by the value of products reported at each census, were secondary in importance to agriculture.

#### CARDINAL GIBBONS ON THE LATE PONTIFF.

An appreciation of "The Character of Leo XIII." is contributed by Cardinal Gibbons, who considers it certain that Leo XIII. will rank among the few Pontiffs who were great theologians and philosophers, like Innocent III. and Benedict XIV. Leo's love of Latin letters would have made him, the cardinal says, a great Mæcenas to the scholars that surrounded the Papal throne if he had lived in the time of the Renaissance. His lack of means did not permit of vast literary enterprises, but many excellent works were carried on at his expense, or furthered by his subsidies.

### SCRIBNER'S MAGAZINE.

**M**R. FREDERIC IRLAND gives an interesting account, in the September *Scribner's*, with many valuable photographs, of the deer and other large animals in "The Wyoming Game Stronghold." He says that the elk, antelope, and deer of the great valley between the Shoshone and Wind River mountains on the east and the Tetons on the west are still in plenty,

and reproduce with quite sufficient rapidity to keep up their numbers. But there are two dangers to their continued existence. In the first place, the sheep-herders are threatening the devastation of the grass, and it takes six years for grass to grow up again where sheep have pulled it up and trampled it down. In the second place, Mr. Irland thinks the game is in danger from "the mistaken enthusiasm of a collection of gentlemen who wish to drive the ranchmen and settlers entirely out of western Wyoming and to make the country a vast preserve." The settlers are uneasy, and say that if the elk will cause their being driven out the elk will not last long.

There is a very readable chapter of reminiscences of "Some Famous Judges," by Senator George F. Hoar, who gives a number of excellent anecdotes of Chief Justice Lemuel Shaw and other legal lights of Massachusetts. Capt. T. B. Mott describes the "Work and Play of the Military Attachés," especially at the grand maneuvers of the French army, consisting of the evolutions, practically on a war footing, of from forty-five thousand to one hundred and forty thousand men. The balance of this number consists of fiction and verse.

#### MCLURE'S MAGAZINE.

UNDER the title of "Capital and Labor Hunt Together," Mr. Ray Stannard Baker tells, in the September *McClure's*, how Chicago has become the victim of "the new industrial conspiracy." Mr. Baker is chiefly occupied in describing how the two organizations, the Coal Teamsters' Union and the Coal Team Owners' Association, came together and formed a close compact, offensive and defensive,—a sort of monopoly new to our American life. "Instead of fighting each other, to the profit and peace of the onlooking public, they now turned, united, and attacked that public. The teamster salved his sores with a large increase in wages, the coal dealer and the team-owner fattened their bank accounts with a large increase in profits, and the defenseless, unorganized public paid the bill." After a very specific recital of just how this thing was done, Mr. Baker remarks: "We have been sighing for capital and labor to get together; we have been telling them that they are brothers, that the interest of one is the interest of the other; here they are together; are we any better off?"

#### THE TRIUMPHS OF THE PASTEUR INSTITUTES.

In "The Conquest of Five Great Ills," Mr. Cleveland Moffett outlines the great work of the Pasteur institutes throughout the world. Within twenty years, five great foes of the human race have been shorn of their worst terrors by the processes of Pasteur. These five ills are hydrophobia, diphtheria, lockjaw, snake poison, and the bubonic plague. In the case of hydrophobia, the Pasteur treatment now removes all chance of harm,—or, to be exact, all but one-fifth of one chance in a hundred. In diphtheria, the average mortality has been reduced from 45 or 50 per cent. to 12 or 14 per cent. In lockjaw, the antitoxin serum is, to be sure, only preventive, and not curative; but this is usually sufficient, since the danger is plainly indicated in advance. The proudest victory of the Pasteur school is in the treatment of bubonic plague, which in times of great epidemics used to carry off 85 per cent. of all who contracted it. Dr. Calmette has succeeded in reducing the mortality of those treated by him and his assistants to

less than 15 per cent., as against a mortality of over 63 per cent., in the same epidemic, of those not treated.

There is a pleasant sketch of Alessandro Salvini by Clara Morris, and stories by Mary Moss, Henry Harland, George Barr McCutcheon, H. W. Wallis, and Norman Duncan.

#### THE COSMOPOLITAN MAGAZINE.

A NEW series in the *Cosmopolitan*, to succeed the sketches of "Captains of Industry," is begun in the September number under the title "Men of Honor and Stamina Who Make the Real Successes in Life." The first "man of honor" chosen is Joseph W. Folk, the young circuit attorney of St. Louis, who has done such notable work in cleaning up the political "boodle gang" of that city. Missourians are thinking seriously of making this quiet young man, only thirty-three years old, the governor of the State. Mr. Folk was born in Brownsville, Tenn., took an academic and legal course at Vanderbilt University, in Nashville, and became a citizen of St. Louis in 1892. In 1900, he aided in the settlement of the riotous street-car strike, and a committee of business men asked Mr. Folk to become candidate for circuit attorney.

On assuming the duties of his office, January 1, 1901, Mr. Folk began his campaign against criminals, the later and more important aspects of which have been made so well known through the newspapers. He is described as an undemonstrative man, with a smilingly determined countenance. He is even-tempered, quiet-voiced, and tries his cases without excitement, declamation, or resentment. There is no word of condemnation for the man, but unsparing denunciation of the crime. This writer, Mr. Frederic C. Howe, thinks there is a strong probability Mr. Folk will get the gubernatorial nomination, in spite of the opposition of the "machine."

#### SIR THOMAS LIPTON'S CREW.

Sir Thomas Lipton himself tells of his yacht-racing ambitions in "My Efforts to Win the *America's Cup*." Describing the organization of his invading force, he says that everything is under the control of Mr. William Fife, the designer. He is confident that Capt. Robert Wringe, the skipper of *Shamrock III.*, and Capt. Charles Bevis, master of *Shamrock I.*, are the two best skippers in Great Britain. In the crew of the challenger there are numerous men who were racing skippers in England, men of rare intelligence and attainment, who have been willing to ship under Sir Thomas as mere members of his crew. In short, the baronet can say with confidence that *Shamrock III.* is being sailed by the best crew ever gathered together in the United Kingdom.

#### THE ARCHITECT'S LONG APPRENTICESHIP.

In treating of "Architecture," in the series on "Making a Choice of a Profession," Mr. John M. Carrère shows what a long, tedious road the young architect must travel. He must possess a good general education before touching architecture especially, and will then probably enter a school of architecture and after graduating spend a number of years in study and practice in an architect's office, eventually drifting to Paris, and ending his education by a period of travel. Altogether, an architect is supposed to devote eight or ten years of his life to study and preparation before he can think of entering upon the independent practice of his profession with justice to himself or to his work.

## THE WORLD'S WORK.

MR. JOHN ALBERT MACY explains, in the September *World's Work*, the perfection of modern teaching of the deaf, the recitations in gesture, and the simplicity of the modern manual alphabet. He shows what the parents of deaf children may do, and says a proper beginning is to write to the superintendent of one of the State schools. "He may help her, or he may not be able to do anything. His power to assist depends on how liberally the Legislature has provided him with means and equipment to look after the deaf children of the State." But the mother can do something else, too. "Learn the manual alphabet and let every member of the family learn it, and as many of the child's playmates as can be induced to try this interesting play of the fingers. Talk to it at table, and the child is almost sure to pick up a word or two at a time and make them on its fingers, just as the hearing child begins to babble."

## AMERICAN INVESTMENTS IN MEXICO.

Mr. E. P. Lyle, Jr., makes a good article out of his subject of "The American Influence in Mexico." He shows how a nation is suddenly awakening to modern life beyond the Rio Grande, and how Americans have chiefly caused the awakening. "In Mexico, there still exists a form of serfdom called peonage, and in Mexico, also, there are invested five hundred million American dollars. Now, between the serfdom and the dollars a connection exists that makes clear a most curious spectacle,—the spectacle of a people leaping from the tenth century into the twentieth." In the past five years, two hundred and fifty million dollars have gone from the United States into the development of Mexico, and are building and operating railroads and smelters, exploiting mines, and playing the farmer over vast acres.

## MAKING BIG GUNS AT WASHINGTON.

Under the title "Making Big 'Guns," Lieutenant-Commander Albert Gleaves sketches the great advance in naval equipment and describes how the great twelve-inch guns are made, and especially the work at the government factory at Washington. Here, twelve hundred and ten big guns of various calibers have been completed since 1887, and two hundred and eighty-one are now in process of manufacture. Nearly four thousand men are employed, the annual expenditure for labor having increased tenfold in less than twenty years. In discussing the life of a great gun, this writer says that whereas the very heaviest guns, such as the twelve-inch, have a maximum limit of about three hundred firings, six-inch guns have been fired upward of two thousand times without injury.

## WHISTLER'S METHOD.

An excellent piece of critical writing by F. J. Mather, Jr., deals with "The Art of Mr. Whistler": "His manner of painting is best described by one of his distinguished sitters, Count Robert de Montesquiou. The full-length figure was brushed hurriedly in at a single short sitting. Then followed sixteen agonizing sittings. It would be long, anxious minutes before the poised brush descended and the stroke was made. So by some fifty strokes a sitting the portrait advanced. Nothing was done until the artist had concentrated hand and eye upon the stroke, and the finished work consisted of some hundred accents, of which none was corrected or painted out. At the end the slender figure of a nobleman stood as if seen in the dusk, and yet absolutely crisp. The innu-

merable distinct strokes had fused into an apparently simple whole—a simplicity laboriously attained, and only a certain aggressive firmness of pose, sober harmony of color, and aristocratic aloofness of expression told that it was a Whistler."

Mr. Israel Zangwill writes a characteristic essay on "Zionism and the Future of the Jews;" Henry H. Lewis describes the various "Feats of Modern Railroad Engineering;" Edward Lowry sums up the reform results of Mayor Low's administration in New York, and there is an interesting essay on the question "Are Riches Demoralizing American Life?" We have quoted in another department from "Railroad Accidents in America and Europe," by Slason Thompson, and from the sketch of "Charles Francis Murphy—Tammany's New Ruler," by Franklin Matthews.

## THE ATLANTIC MONTHLY.

DR. LYMAN ABBOTT begins the September *Atlantic Monthly* with a discussion of "Why Women Do Not Wish the Suffrage." A negative reason Dr. Abbott finds in the fact that woman suffrage divides the functions of government. He does not believe that we can have the women make the laws and have the men enforce them. But he finds a stronger and more positive reason in the distraction of feminine energies from her real work. Woman, he says, must choose. "She may give her time and thought and energy in building a state and engaging in that warfare of wills which politics involves; or she may give her time and thought to the building of men on whose education and training church, state, industry, society, all depend. She has made her choice and made it wisely."

## IS BIBLE STUDY DECLINING?

Prof. Herbert W. Horwill, writing on "The Bible in State Schools," thinks that the prevailing impression as to a general indifference to the Bible is somewhat exaggerated. "The very novels of the circulating library can give evidence that a certain familiarity with the Bible is still a point of contact between author and reader. Glancing at random through a catalogue of fiction, we come across such titles as 'Unleavened Bread,' 'In Kedar's Tents,' 'The Mantle of Elijah,' 'A Book of Remembrance,' 'When the Gates Lift up Their Heads,' 'The Hosts of the Lord,' 'By the Waters of Babylon,' 'A Damsel or Two,' 'Vengeance Is Mine,' 'They That Took the Sword,' 'They That Walk in Darkness.' And how, on the theory of hopeless decadence, are we to account for the large and constant sale, not only of Bibles, but of Bible dictionaries, commentaries, and other works of exegesis? There never was a time when the issue of scholarly books of this class, whether at high prices or low, was so good a commercial investment for a publisher."

## OTHER ARTICLES.

M. A. DeWolfe Howe, writing on "The Literary Center," reviews the luxuriant period of Boston literary history which made the town so worthy of that phrase. The whole list of American writers, says this essayist, whose work has stood the test of half a century with a few notable exceptions belong to Boston and its neighborhood. There is an essay on Christopher North, by William A. Bradley, and an account of the experience of "An Educated Wage-Earner," by Jocelyn Lewis; there is an attractive treatise "Of Girls in a Canadian College," by Archibald MacMechan, and the usual complement of fiction, verse, and capable book reviews.



## THE NORTH AMERICAN REVIEW.

IN the August number of the *North American Review*, Mr. Archibald R. Colquhoun and Sir John Gorst, M.P., present the current arguments for and against Mr. Chamberlain's *zollverein* policy, as brought before the readers of the REVIEW OF REVIEWS, during recent months, in the department of "Leading Articles of the Month." Mr. Henry Loomis Nelson's discussion of the probable effect of the *zollverein* scheme on American trade is outlined in this number of the REVIEW.

## THE BRITISH TRADE-UNIONS IN POLITICS.

Mr. J. Keir Hardie gives an interesting account of the rise of a federated labor party in England which seems likely to supplant the present Independent labor party,—a Socialist organization that has grown up within the past ten years. The new movement described by Mr. Hardie is a federation the basis of which is that each affiliated organization shall finance its own candidates and become responsible for their maintenance if returned to Parliament, each, however, combining with the others to secure the return of their respective nominees. In England and Wales, nine hundred thousand trade-unionists are now affiliated. By the contribution of one shilling per member each year to a labor representation fund, an annual income of \$250,000 has been secured. It is believed that not less than fifty candidates will run for Parliament at the next general election, and some of these are pretty certain to be elected.

## WOMAN AND THE REPUBLIC.

Mrs. Kate T. Woolsey, writing on "Woman's Inferior Position in a Republic," compares woman's status in the United States with her status in Russia—greatly to the disadvantage of Uncle Sam's government. For example, in America millions of wives have no individual control over their property. In Russia, on the other hand, for about two centuries, every wife has been the legal mistress of her own fortune. Again, millions of women in the United States are still without the right to vote on municipal matters; every woman householder in Russia has had that right for several centuries. Where nine thousand wives are deserted by husbands in America, five hundred such desertions occur in Russia. No little girls can be employed in Russian factories; thousands are so employed in this country. Finally, more women work in the fields in the United States than in Russia.

## THE NATIONAL GUARD.

In this number there are two excellent articles on our national militia system by Lieut.-Col. James Parker, U.S.A., and Representative John J. Esch, respectively. Both writers are thoroughly informed on the subject. Colonel Parker summarizes the advantages to the national government that may be gained from the militia law passed by Congress at the last session as follows:

"First.—A great improvement in the efficiency of the National Guard, which will result as a consequence of governmental supervision and aid, better arms and equipment, and more thorough training;

"Second.—The placing of the National Guard, in an emergency, at the disposal of the general government, whereby the President, in time of war, will be able to muster the whole of that force into the United States service, at twenty-four hours' notice, if necessary, to serve until the volunteers are ready to take the field;

"Third.—The formation of a corps of reserve officers, derived from sources outside of the regular army, but tested by examinations prescribed by the War Department, whose function in time of war will be to command our volunteers."

Representative Esch estimates the annual cost of the National Guard, to State and national governments, at thirty-three dollars per man, as against one thousand dollars per man in our regular army, and about four hundred and fifty dollars per man for the German standing army.

## ITALY'S COMMERCIAL RELATIONS WITH U.S.

Deputy Luzzatti, of the Italian Chamber, formulates some of the desires of the Italian people for a readjustment of economic relations with the United States, as follows:

"Italy asks of the United States the favored treatment stipulated in the conventions with France and with England for Jamaica; she asks that, for the products indicated in those conventions, any further reduction of duties upon the American tariff should be also extended to Italy; lastly, she asks for the reduction of 20 per cent., if no more is to be obtained, upon the duties registered in the fourth section of the Dingley tariff upon marbles, cheeses, and certain other of her special products already mentioned above. Upon the other hand, Italy is disposed to make just concessions in her duties upon bacon, sago, agricultural machinery, and the writer of this article would not hesitate to make it also upon American petroleum, with important reductions upon the Italian duty, which now stands at forty-eight lire the quintal, in proportion to the corresponding compensations which Italian goods would obtain in the American market."

## OTHER ARTICLES.

Gen. W. H. Carter, U.S.A., writes on "Anglo-American Friendship," Mr. James P. Kimball on "Aggressive Forest Reservation," and Mr. Wolf von Schierbrand on "Results of the German Elections." We have quoted in another department from Mr. Archibald S. Hurd's article on "Russia's Fleet."

## GUNTON'S MAGAZINE.

FROM the August number of *Guntton's*, we have selected the article on "The Union *versus* the Open Shop" for review and quotation in our department of "Leading Articles of the Month." The policy of extending and broadening the range of the magazine, to include literary and descriptive articles of general interest, is even more in evidence in this than in the preceding number.

Miss Anna McClure Sholl, in framing an answer to the question "Is an American Aristocracy Possible?" declares that such an aristocracy, if it shall arise, will not be one of wealth, although we must look to the wealthy, and to those in high station generally, to enforce the traditions of the true American aristocracy.

Mrs. Julia R. Tutwiler, writing on "The American Boy in Fiction," inclines strongly to the American and English boy of actual life as the true presentation of boyhood in story, as opposed to the stiff and impossible boy of the earlier writers.

Mr. Robert Shackleton, the author of "Many Waters," describes "A Feast Day in Old St. Cloud"—an ancient institution of the French gardeners.

## RUSSIAN EXPANSION.

"The Shadow of Russia in the Far East" is the title of an article in which "An American in China" sets forth some of the dangers to American interests threatened by the continued expansion of Russia in the far East. The two grounds on which this writer urges objection to that expansion are—(1) that Russian policy is exclusive in so far as it relates to other countries, and (2) that the Russian type of government is opposed to general education and enlightenment. He says:

"Japan has forty millions of people, and her standard of living for her working classes is below ours; yet, instead of being a menace, under the wisdom of her statesmanship her advancement is a profit to us, and she is buying more and more of the things we have to sell as her civilization advances. Under similar conditions, China would increase her trade with us and add to her own and our wealth. Under the illiberal and dominating militarism of Russia, however, we should lose whatever markets we now have in China, and our future prospects would be blighted. We should also see erected, across the Pacific, an industrial and political system that would menace our own splendid civilization."

## SUFFRAGE AND REPRESENTATION.

The editor declares unreservedly for an educational qualification for voting throughout the country, with representation in Congress based on the number of citizens who voted, or who were entitled to vote, at the last preceding Presidential or Congressional election.

"That would solve the question, not only for the South, but for all sections. Any State that neglected the education of its citizens would reduce the number of its voters and cut down its representation in the national government. This is as it should be. A State that neglects the education of its citizens should not exercise so much influence in the law-making institutions of the country as the State that educates its citizens and raises the social standard of its people. Poverty and ignorance should lessen the political power of a State. If an educational test were general in all the States, and representation in Congress were based on the number of qualified voters, the standard of political representation would be raised throughout the country, and the State that does the best for its people would have the greatest proportionate influence in the Government."

## THE CONTEMPORARY REVIEW.

THE *Contemporary Review* for August contains only nine articles. We have elsewhere reviewed those treating of the Papacy, Pan-Germanism, and Russia in Manchuria.

## THE FRENCH IBSEN.

Mlle. de Pratz writes on François de Curel, "the French Ibsen," whose dramas she describes in detail.

"With all his potentialities and force, he has come into the world at the wrong moment. Throughout his works one feels a constant diversity between his instinct and his intellect, which explains his long fruitless efforts at the beginning of his career, and his delight in living far away from the haunts of men, in the midst of nature. He is entirely devoted to his own inspiration, and is very little influenced by outside opinion. The result is that we owe to him a series of plays, the inspiration of which is entirely out of the

ordinary, and far above the commonplaces of the dramatic writing of the day. One feels that he is a free man, writing neither for money nor for cheap glory. Here and there in his writings one finds passages which carry one far beyond the pettinesses of smaller and more finite conceptions of modern art, and produce in us that thrill of emotion which only the great geniuses of the world, from time to time, have been able to give to humanity."

## THE ROYAL ACADEMY AND THE CHANTREY BEQUEST.

Mr. Harry Quilter writes a strong article on the subject of the abuse of the Chantrey bequest. The accusations which he brings against the trustees of the fund are summed up by himself as follows:

"That its administrators have perverted money left to them for a specific purpose for the benefit of their friends; that they have practically restricted the rewards of the fund to the members of one institution—i.e., the Royal Academy—and have ignored the claims of all other artistic associations, and all artists outside the circle of academic favor; that they have not only done this, which was entirely *ultra vires*, and morally, if not legally, an abuse of the bequest, but that even within the limits of their action they have not succeeded in securing, nor even attempted to secure, in the artists whose works have been purchased, the best specimens procurable; but have rather proceeded on the principle of buying large and practically unsalable works, these being in many cases of distinctly inferior merit. Lastly, that they have paid for pictures of this kind extravagant sums, from £2,000 downward, and that in every case, without a single exception, such sum has been paid to a member of the Royal Academy, the public being induced to overlook this fact by the purchase, generally at an insignificant price, of a few popular pictures by outsiders more or less in touch with the Royal Academy, which have been exhibited at Burlington House, and by the fact that the prices given for the various purchases have never been publicly announced."

## OTHER ARTICLES.

There is an article on the Carlyle question by Mr. Ronald McNeill, who returns to the charge against Sir J. Crichton-Browne, whom he routs as effectually as Sir J. Crichton-Browne has just routed him; a paper by the Rev. J. Verschoyle on "The Liberal Movement in the Church of England," which turns largely on the problem whether the Gospel account of the Virgin birth may or may not be doubted by a churchman.

## THE FORTNIGHTLY REVIEW.

FROM the *Fortnightly* for August we have selected the paper on the late Pope, and the character sketch of Baron de Coubertin for review and quotation in our department of "Leading Articles of the Month," elsewhere in this number.

## THE LATE W. E. HENLEY.

Mr. Vernon Blackburn contributes an appreciative paper on the late Mr. Henley, of whom he says:

"Those who never worked with Henley can never even remotely appreciate that potentially subtle influence of his by which he was able from each man to steal the best work of which such a one was capable. Henley was a master-miner of the gold-fields of the brain; you struck a vein, as it were, part alloy, part precious metal;

and with a keenness and an inspiration that were like fire in their instant and unassailable conquest of that which is inflammable, he was at your side with words of acceptance, encouragement, rejection possibly, warning, counsel, and again, perhaps, of the keenest contempt. . . . When his place has been assigned in the great roll-call of England's literature, it will be said of him, that though he hardened his heart to men that pleased him not, though he valued as nothing the abuse of the unintelligent, though he endured the taunts of the foolish by reason of a polity in life which he courted with an adamant fixity of principle, though he had equal words of just disfavor for friend or foe, he still was true, under all stress, under all storm, to the ideals which he worshiped to the end with the ardor of a novice, no less than with the sane beliefs of a man convinced by faith. His was, indeed, that gift of faith; he was forever preaching upon the blindness of mankind, well knowing that all faith is blind."

## THE COMING IRELAND.

Mr. Justin McCarthy, writing on "The Coming Ireland," speculates on what would happen if American capitalists were to take in hand the creation of a new Ireland, converting it into a smiling and happy pleasure ground, reviving its industries, protecting its ruins, and reestablishing its peasantry.

"I have been assured in all seriousness that many American capitalists are already engaged in reasonable and laudable schemes for the development of Ireland's industrial and commercial life, and that if the British Government does not look to itself, it will soon find American influence much stronger than that of Britain over the Irish people."

## STATE OWNERSHIP OF SLAVES.

The Rev. C. Usher Wilson, in an article on the South African labor question, after lamenting that individual slavery, to which he pays a dithyrambic tribute, is no longer possible, suggests that the South African natives should in future be enslaved by the state.

"All males of native origin might be made subject to labor conscription between the ages of sixteen and twenty-two years. Thus for six years a native lad would be under the control and discipline of the state. His life for that period may easily be sketched. He will be sent, first of all, to a labor depot. Here, for the first time, perhaps, the red-ochred blanket will be dropped (alas, for that! The classic folds of that old blanket, worn with the grace and consequence of a Roman toga, have often charmed the artistic eye). After donning the suitable uniform that will be adopted, he will be detained in barracks at the depot until drafted into a company under orders to proceed to some center of governmental work. Through all his five senses the tenets of civilization will be absorbed. For the first time, he will live in a comfortable, well-ventilated room, where a clean bed and blankets will be his own property. Receiving wages from the first day of his enlistment, payment for his kit will be made by means of monthly stoppages. The fact that all the outfit is his own will arouse in him the pride of possession, and insure careful regard for everything. The casual habit of the savage will be supplanted by methodism."

## OXFORD POETRY TO ORDER.

There is an interesting article by Ogier Rysden on the history of the Newdigate prize poem. The follow-

ing are some specimens of the product. The first deals with "The Beneficial Effects of Inoculation," the second with "The Sandwich Islands," and the third with "Gibraltar." Two are really quoted from competing poems, the third is a parody. Which is which?

Of as the swain beneath the citron shade  
Pour'd his soft passion to the list'n'ing maid,  
Infection's poison hung on every breath,  
And each persuasive sigh was charged with death.

They brought to him slices of ham and of tongue,  
With bread which from the trees spontaneous hung,  
The hero takes the gift and kindly smiles,  
And aptly christens them the Sandwich isles.

Here rocks protrude extraordinary shapes  
While furry monkeys walk along the capes.

## AGAINST NAVAL DISPERSION.

Mr. Archibald Hurd, in a paper entitled "The Navy that We Need," makes a vigorous protest against the present system of widely dispersing the British navy throughout the seven seas. Germany concentrates her fleet in the North Sea, France in the Channel and Mediterranean, and Russia in the far East. They mass their ships where they have interests to defend, while England distributes her ships to defend interests which are not threatened to the extent indicated by the measures taken for safety.

"The present policy is opposed to all wisdom, a frittering away of many thousand pounds a year, and a weakening of the striking power of the fleet. The sea is all one, and the navy is all one, but the navy ceases to be all one if so many of its personnel are exiled in areas outside the probable, or even possible, arena of hostilities. In these days of steam, Great Britain has no call to continue these distant practically non-fighting squadrons in seas where there is no opposing force to be met, — squadrons which, on the other hand, are too weak to offer effective resistance to a strong flying squadron of an enemy, presuming that such a force escaped from Europe or Port Arthur, and, in the absence of coaling stations, would attempt to attack on Canada or Australasia."

## OTHER ARTICLES.

There is an article by M. Joseph Chailley-Bert on "The Colonial Policy of France;" a statistical paper by Mr. Holt Schooling on the growth of cancer, which he shows is contemporaneous with the increase of meat-eating; and a short poem of merit by Mr. Laurence Hope.

## THE NINETEENTH CENTURY.

IN the *Nineteenth Century* for August, Mr. J. W. Cross has a paper on "The Bane of Borrowing." He says that the recent depreciation of values on the London and New York markets, amounting to hundreds of millions sterling, is due mainly to over-borrowing. No one can doubt the existing resources and future material prosperity of the British Empire and the United States. A few years hence they will, probably, both have increased enormously in wealth; but for the last few years they have been engaged in too rapid development, with consequent strain on capital. There is a danger for the British colonies from too rapid development by borrowing from the mother country, and a danger to the mother country from being obliged to borrow from the Continent to help this colonial development, and at the same time to maintain an extravagant home expenditure.

## CANADA.

Mr. Robert Machray, writing on "The Granary of the Empire," says that at present the Americans are more keen-eyed than the English in recognizing the greatness of Canada. The American immigrants are, however, to be welcomed, as they are first-class, practical farmers, with capital, experience, and enterprise.

"Having sold their farms in the States for from £10 to £20 an acre, they have gone into the Canadian West with the money thus realized, and purchased farms for from £2 to £5 an acre, in the sure and certain hope of rapidly improving their position. The movement is a natural movement; it has nothing to do with politics; it is solely concerned with what may be described as economic betterment. These Americans make good settlers, and readily fall in with the laws, habits, and ways of the country; they cease to be Americans, they become Canadians; the transition is not violent, but easy, so there is no need for them to boggle at it,—and there is no boggling."

## THE NATIONAL REVIEW.

THE *National Review* for August contains an article in French of considerable length from Madame Réjane's pen. It is entitled "The Dramatic Art," and ascribes the defects of English acting to the fact that there is no school of dramatic art.

## THE JEWISH QUESTION IN RUSSIA.

Mr. Arnold White writes on "Kishineff and After," attributing the anti-Jewish feeling of the Russian people to the alleged economic exploitation practised by the Jews. He proposes a conference at which Russia, Great Britain, and the United States would be represented, arguing that it is a matter for international agreement.

## THE GERMAN ELECTIONS.

Mr. Norton Gibside, in an article on the German elections, makes the following comparison between the late and present Reichstag:

	Strength in old Reichs- tag.	Strength in new Reichs- tag.	Votes obtained in 1898. (In round numbers.)	Votes obtained in 1903.
Conservatives.....	52	52	859,000	909,000
Free Conservatives...	20	20	343,000	282,000
Clerical Center.....	105	102	1,445,000	1,853,000
National Liberals....	51	50	984,000	1,243,000
Moderate Radicals...	14	9	208,000	241,000
Radical Left.....	26	21	558,000	532,000
Social Democrats.....	58	81	2,107,000	3,025,000

## FRENCH NATIONALISM.

Mr. G. Syveton, a French Deputy and treasurer of the Ligue de la Patrie Française, contributes a defense of French nationalism, which, he says, has been slandered, owing mainly to the fact that the French press is under the power of its enemies. He says that the Nationalists are sincere Republicans. Their anti-Dreyfusism arose from the fact that the Dreyfusard movement had become converted into a campaign against the military institutions of the country. Their policy in regard to Fashoda was not inspired by Anglophobia, but by what they regarded as a grave dereliction of duty on the part of the French Government. The Nationalists, he says, are not Clericals, but are merely anti-Clericals in the ministerial sense.

## THE WESTMINSTER REVIEW.

THE *Westminster Review* for August opens with one of Mr. W. J. Corbet's familiar papers, entitled "The Irish Avatar." It is followed by Mr. Walter Sweetman's discourse on "The Irish Land Bill and Home Rule." Mr. Sweetman's point is that all parties had better agree to leave the Irish one hundred and three members in the imperial Parliament. Mr. Sweetman is a landlord, but he accepts the land bill, and is disposed to hope for the best as to the future.

There is a very curious paper, by Mr. Andrew Allen, entitled "The False Prophet." Commentators have often quarreled over the interpretation of the Book of Revelation. Mr. Allen follows many of his predecessors when he identifies Britain as the little Horn, but he ventures upon an altogether new theory when he declares that the first beast personifies War, and the second beast Trade. The second beast is identical with the False Prophet, and the dragon is the reptile press. Mr. Allen prophesies that a clash of interests, either in China or Africa, will precipitate the general European war. The British Empire will be divided into three parts; her ironclads will be sunk, and the boundaries of all kingdoms changed. The False Prophet, Trade, will be cast alive into the lake of fire, by which Mr. Allen sees prophetically the advent of a Socialist millennium!

A lady who prefers to disguise her identity under the name "Ixion" indulges in an imaginative rhapsody over the ethics of wheels. She concludes by declaring that "man by his wit and wisdom has never invented anything that can compare with the wheel for its ethical value to humanity." Mr. Charles Ford writes a dissertation upon the importance of putting practice before theory in all our ideas and enterprise. The longest paper in the review is one on "The Romans in Greece," by Mr. William Miller, followed by a paper on "The Claims of Francis Bacon on the Homage of Posterity." There is an interesting article upon "Maxime Gorky."

## THE EDINBURGH REVIEW.

THE *Edinburgh Review* for July has the inevitable article on the protectionist issue. Otherwise the number, though of fair general interest, contains nothing requiring separate notice. It opens with a paper on "London and its People in the Eighteenth Century," in which the good old times do not appear at all to advantage. The Londoner of a hundred and fifty years ago was sensible and unemotional, honest and rather coarse-minded, clear-headed and persevering, and he was practical and independent in his religion and politics. He had no ideals, and his creed was summed up in the phrase that he tried to do his duty in the station in which he had been placed. He was more of a Londoner even than the modern Cockney, and seldom went outside the city, being absolutely ignorant of country life. Dr. Johnson, who was a typical Londoner, regarded the Hawkstone Hills, in Shropshire, much as a city clerk might to-day look upon the high Alps, and his journey to the Hebrides was then an astonishing feat of travel.

## THE NEW ASTRONOMY.

There is a very interesting article under this heading. The new astronomy deals more with the physical state than with the distances and motions of the stars, and de-



depends almost wholly for its discoveries upon spectrum-analysis. Even the velocities of stars in the line of sight can now be determined by the changes in their spectra. The writer declares that the sun, though still in a gaseous state, is probably subjected to such great pressure that it may possess the rigidity of a solid. The sun is probably now in its hottest stage. It is a remarkable fact that observation goes to show that large stars go through their phases of development more rapidly than small stars. The dead stars, says the writer, probably outnumber the living stars by many, it may be, millions to one. Dark stars, although invisible to the eye, may yet be brought within the range of human observation, as many of them, though no longer luminous, must emit heat, and may be photographed on plates sensitized to the infra-red rays of the spectrum. The great thing needed for further stellar discoveries is gigantic telescopes in good situations, which, of course, means vast expense.

#### THE QUARTERLY REVIEW.

CANON HENSON, reviewing, in the current *Quarterly*, Mr. Booth's book on the religious influences in London, maintains that, in spite of failure, delusion, blunder, and even scandal, the picture set before us offers an impressive demonstration of the moral power of Christianity. Denominational self-conceit, indeed, ought to have received its death-blow in these volumes. Whatever else may be doubtful, this at least is clear,—that in the process of Christianizing the population of London, all denominations are equally helpless, as such. The continued existence of separate churches and chapels all working on the same lines has behind it no justification in public utility. The multiplication of ecclesiastical organizations is practically absurd as well as religiously harmful.

#### THE IDENTITY OF MAN AFTER DEATH.

Reviewing Mr. Myers' book, Sir Oliver Lodge says: "It is no easy matter to decide beforehand on what would be a crucial proof of survival of personality; it turns out an exceedingly hard thing to demonstrate. Messages purporting to come from a deceased person, containing facts known to some survivor, and superficially conclusive of surviving intelligence and memory, are not really sufficient; for they can subsequently be supposed to have been derived either by hunting up records, or, if that is out of the question, then by telepathy from the survivor. If they are known to no one, they can hardly be verified; if it should happen that, by subsequent discovery, say, of hidden objects, they are verified, and if telepathy is excluded—no easy matter—their abnormal perception can then be set down to a sort of general clairvoyance, access, as it were, to a universal world-soul, or some other vague phrase of that kind. A crucial test of survival against such hypotheses as these seems impossible."

#### SUBMARINES.

There is an interesting unsigned article on "The Submarine." The writer thinks that the new British boats embody the best designs which the lessons of a few early successes and many failures have yielded. He gives the following list of conditions which a submarine must fulfill:

"She must be capable of submergence to variable

depths, and also of flotation at will. She must be steady on her keel, both when sinking and rising, when moving at her highest speed under water, and when discharging a torpedo. It is practically essential that objects on the surface of the sea and within a considerable radius shall be visible from the boat when submerged to a depth sufficient to render her almost invisible from above. Having taken a sight, she must be capable of moving in a straight course without divergence therefrom, in either a vertical or a lateral direction. Finally, a fairly high speed must be attained; but the machinery for propulsion must be in a small space."

One of the most difficult things to attain is steadiness of keel, while the problems of vision and of movement without divergence are not yet satisfactorily solved. The reviewer urges that England should have a fleet of submarines at least equal in number to that of France.

#### ASIA IN TRANSFORMATION.

There is an important article under this heading signed by Mr. A. R. Colquhoun. Mr. Colquhoun expresses the belief that there is not the slightest chance of China reforming herself from within, but he thinks that Japanese influence and teaching will have some effect. Of England's position, he says:

"As far as British interests in China are concerned, the tale is even less encouraging. The Anglo-German agreement of 1900, which was to 'maintain undiminished' the territorial condition of the Chinese Empire, resulted merely in a declaration on the part of Germany that Manchuria was not included, being 'of no interest' to her; while she obtained indirectly interests in the Yangtze valley which had hitherto been practically a British preserve. Again, the Anglo-Japanese treaty, ostensibly directed to the preservation of Manchuria and Korea, has proved entirely futile as regards the former object. The territorial integrity of China has, in fact, become a mere *façon de parler*; and, as British interests were strongly concerned with keeping that empire intact and opening it to our trade, we cannot congratulate ourselves on the success of our diplomacy."

#### HOW TO REFORM THE ROYAL ACADEMY.

An article entitled "The Royal Academy and Reform" makes some revolutionary suggestions. One is that the limitation of the number of Academicians should be done away with, and that the Academy should comprise all artists of merit, irrespective of numbers. Moreover, all branches of the arts should be represented, and not merely painting, sculpture, and architecture. Instead of a single annual exhibition, there should be two, the first confined to painting and to such forms of statuary as are meant to stand by themselves, and the second to the decorative arts. The Academy should relinquish all attempt at the direct teaching of students, and turn its attention toward the advancement of the independent schools by means of inspection, scholarships, loans of artistic objects, and money grants. The Academy would thus become a university of the arts.

#### OTHER ARTICLES.

The number opens with an unsigned paper on "The Sagas and Songs of the Gael," dealing with Irish vernacular literature. There is a very interesting paper on Siena.

## THE SPIRIT OF THE CONTINENTAL REVIEWS.

THE two most important topics of current history treated in the French reviews for July are the Servian assassinations and the German elections. The *Revue des Deux Mondes* also takes account of M. Loubet's visit to England, the news feature of the month, while the directors of the *Nouvelle Revue* are, apparently, beginning to realize the interest taken by their readers in historical subjects, for among the July contents are papers concerning the siege of Strasbourg, the ancestors of La Harpe, a long account of Lamartine's views on labor, a biographical account of Louis XIII.'s famous ambassador, Charnacé, and last, not least, a curious essay on the part played by Switzerland in 1798. Of more immediate value is the vivid description of the late Scientific Congress held at Berlin.

## THE NEW SERVIAN KING.

The most interesting article in the *Nouvelle Revue* to most readers is that which gives a glimpse of the new King of Servia. As the writer of the article was at one time thrown much with him, his views concerning the personality of the newest European sovereign are not without significance. The Frenchman at the time was at the head of the French legation in Montenegro while Prince Peter Karageorgevitch was on the eve of wedding the eldest of the Montenegrin princesses, the marriage having been arranged by the then Emperor of Russia. An accident caused the diplomatist and the bridegroom elect to go a long and somewhat perilous journey together, and throughout the whole of it the future King showed great resource and good humor. The marriage, which began so auspiciously, was not of long duration, for the Princess Zorka died after a few years, leaving two children, sons, and the King has never cared to marry again.

## THE GERMAN ELECTIONS.

The shrewd "Citizen of Berlin," who gives his views concerning the recent elections to the Reichstag in the *Revue de Paris*, points out that the Agrarians have been badly beaten, to their friends' and their enemies' equal astonishment. The Social Democrats, on the other hand, have scored a signal victory, and this in spite of the fact that at Essen, in Krupp's country, the Emperor, in last November, made a personal appeal to the workmen to break with the Socialist party. According to this observer of the German political situation, not since the year 1848 has the authority of the throne and the principle of monarchy been so shaken as by last month's events. The Social Democrats were most triumphant in those very towns where William II. had tried all the magic of his imperial eloquence on the electors. Further, in these same towns,—that is, in the great centers of German industry,—the Emperor's speeches dealing with this very subject were distributed in pamphlet form by the hundred thousand. The disagreeable surprise which awaited the court party could not have been foreseen, for, owing to the medieval laws concerning any act of *lèse-majesté*, no German man or woman dare state what his or her views are, unless, of course, they are known to be entirely imperial in complexion.

In the *Revue Socialiste* for July, Etienne Buisson, in discussing the elections to the Reichstag, says that these elections become more and more important in the

social and political development of Germany, as is indicated by the number of registered voters who have this time cast their ballots. At Berlin, there were on an average 75 per cent., and in some districts more than 80 per cent. Special precautions had been taken to assure the secrecy of the ballot and the independence of the voters. Triumphant German socialism is now debating whether it were best to abandon its revolutionary attitude in order to become the rallying-point for the different factions of the Left, and thus form an organized resistance to the empire.

## THE CONGO DISCUSSION.

In the *Revue Générale* (Brussels) for July, the Baron Léon de Béthune ardently defends the Belgian Government in his paper "The Discussion of the Congo in England." The problem of the protection of the natives arouses nowhere greater interest than in Belgium, and the principal result of the campaign conducted by the English will be to deprive England of Belgium's good-will, in spite of the gratitude Belgium owes to England for services rendered in 1830 and 1870.

## THE NEW LAPLAND RAILWAY.

We in this country have paid but slight attention to the opening of the Lapland Railway in July, and yet, if a writer in the *Revue de Paris* says truly, it has opened up regions rich in minerals, including gold; given access to virgin forests of such size as to affect, for a while at least, the price of timber and of paper; and last, not least, afforded Russia an outlet toward Norway which might prove of capital strategic importance. The Lapland Railway has already had the effect of raising up, in the American fashion, many flourishing townships where before was bare desert; in this case, at least, trade has followed the train. (See also page 355.)

## CIVILIZATION AND WAR.

In the *Deutsche Revue* for August, Sir Hiram Maxim contributes an article upon civilization and war. He begins by asking what is the highest civilization, and thinks that when the civilization of the United States and England equals that of China, before the invasion of the opium traffic and the missionaries, war will cease. But this happy consummation is far off,—in fact, it is invisible even through the most powerful political telescope. Sir Hiram throughout compares Western nations unfavorably with the Chinese. According to Western ideas, different people should be fought in different ways; and illustrating this, Sir Hiram recalls a description of an ancient machine-gun which was made to use round or spherical bullets against Christians and triangular or square bits of metal against Turks. He points out, however, that in the days of black powder and flintlocks the Boers would have been crushed almost directly, and that smokeless powder, machine-guns, and quick-firing rifles tend to make this attacking of small states by powerful ones more and more impossible. Successful attacks on countries like France, Austria, Germany, England, or the United States are now quite out of the question. Formerly, it was considered sufficient if the attacking party outnumbered their opponents by two or three to one. In South Africa, it was demonstrated that the proportion must be more than ten to one.

## THE TUBERCULOSIS PROBLEM.

M. Robin contributes to the *Revue de Paris* a thoughtful paper on the tuberculosis problem. He makes a violent attack on the present belief in sanatoriums, and is evidently alarmed at the number which are now being built all over France. He would substitute, firstly, far stricter laws regarding general sanitation; and, secondly, the careful feeding of consumptive patients at home. He declares that in tuberculosis prevention is not only better, but more easily achieved, than cure, and he gives one striking instance of a certain trade where altered (longer) hours suddenly increased the number of consumptive workers. Instead of those affected being sent off to a sanatorium, the conditions of their labor were lightened, and at once the percentage of tubercular cases fell to normal.

## THE MARRIAGE CONTRACT IN EUROPE.

In the Dutch magazine *Onze Eeuw*, the contribution which attracts us most is that on the breaking of the marriage tie, whether it be called divorce or by any other name. The article is based on a long-published book by Mr. van Houten, a name to conjure with in the Netherlands. The relative positions of man and woman, the comparative positions of the women of former days and the present time, the result of this easy dissolution of the marriage tie as it affects the children and the morality of society,—all these points are dealt with, and the writer arrives at the conclusion that the remedy (as it is sometimes called) is worse than the disease. In Great Britain, divorce is not so easy, and may not come under the same category, yet it lends itself to fraudulent dissolutions. A peculiar incident is mentioned as having occurred in Paris a long time ago. A man was charged with bigamy, but he pleaded that marriages were such trivial contracts in the light of what was allowed by law that he ought not to be punished, and the judge agreed with him.

## THE THEATER OF THE PEOPLE.

M. Pottecher describes in the *Revue des Deux Mondes* the little village of Bussang, in Alsace, which has preserved, in spite of the tourists and others who come to take the waters, its rustic and mountainous character. What makes it so interesting is that it has possessed now for eight years an open-air theater, which is called "The Theater of the People." The natural beauty of the trees and of the fields forms the scenery of this playhouse. The players are none of them professionals; they are amateurs in the same way that the actors in the Passion Play at Oberammergau are amateurs, and they include not only peasants, but some members of professions and others who may be considered to belong to the middle class. No social distinctions, however, disturb the good relations between the players. The eight pieces already played at Bussang include comedy, tragedy, and musical pieces. Last year, a version of "Macbeth" was tried with considerable success.

## THE FRENCH CONSERVATORY OF MUSIC.

In the *Revue Musicale* of July 15, Constant Pierre examines the regimen to which budding French artists are subjected in the Conservatoire de Musique. The budget amounts to 256,700 francs, 193,200 of which de-

frays the expenses of administration. The curriculum allows the greatest latitude to the professors. There is this difference between academic instruction in France and elsewhere, that the Conservatoire ranks as a higher institution of learning, and that music is not otherwise represented in such institutions in France, while elsewhere, and especially in Germany, all the conservatories of music are private institutions, and in nearly all the universities there are chairs of harmony, history of music, and liturgy.

## THE ORIGIN OF SPECIES.

M. Dastre contributes an interesting, though highly technical, paper to the first July number of the *Revue des Deux Mondes* on the theory of that eminent Dutch savant, Hugo de Vries, regarding the origin of species. It has for some time been recognized as one of the great difficulties in accepting the hypotheses of Darwin that the amount of time demanded by them for the production of new species is so great. It is the opinion of Lord Kelvin, in particular, that the Darwinians have attributed too great an age to our globe. Now comes M. de Vries with a theory of sudden changes in living forms,—a theory which is particularly interesting because it is analogous to the speculations of Suess in geology.

## THOMAS HARDY, THE NOVELIST,—A FRENCH CRITICISM.

Very rarely does an English writer obtain the honor of a serious article written by a leading French critic. M. Aynard consecrates the most careful and painstaking paper in the *Revue de Paris* for July to the art of Thomas Hardy. He gives many extracts from the work of the novelist of Wessex, and is at pains to defend him from the accusation of immorality which he declares has been brought against him by English readers; he points out that, on the contrary, the whole tendency of Hardy's work is moral in the extreme, and that he has scarcely written even a short story which does not go to emphasize the ultimate folly of wrongdoing in either great or small matters.

## RIGHTS AND OBLIGATIONS OF DUTCH CIVIL SERVANTS.

An interesting account of the agitation of civil servants in the Netherlands for a legal regulation of their rights and obligations is given in *Vragen des Tijds*; it has been growing for the last four years, since the Amsterdam municipal authorities ordered all their servants to submit to the visit of an examiner when they were ill. They objected to this examining official; they did not like to be treated like schoolboys suspected of playing truant; hence the agitation, which has now assumed large proportions.

## POSITIVISM.

In the *Revue Occidentale*, July 1, Constantin Billberg shows that one of the distinctive characteristics of positive philosophy is objective synthesis. M. Grimanelli explains how positivism will put an end to the moral crisis which is destroying us; the various moral forces must not remain in a state of dispersion, but must be associated with one great, unified moral force. J. H. Bridges maintains that Comte recognized the mystery that lurks behind the world of phenomena, but as he could not penetrate it, he deemed it best to direct his activities where they could bear fruit.

## THE NEW BOOKS.

### NOTES ON RECENT AMERICAN PUBLICATIONS.

#### BIOGRAPHICAL STUDIES.

THE "Life of Leo XIII.," by the Right Rev. Bernard O'Reilly (Philadelphia: John C. Winston & Co.), has been revised and made to cover the last year of the venerable Pontiff's life, and in its present form is a convenient volume for reference, treating, as it does, of many of the most important developments in the ecclesiastical and political history of the last quarter-



MGR. BERNARD O'REILLY.

century. Monsignor O'Reilly, who is recognized as one of the most scholarly writers in the Catholic Church, is known as the biographer of Pope Leo's predecessor, Pius IX., as well as of other standard works of like character. In his biography of Leo is incorporated a memoir furnished by the late Pontiff himself, and the entire work is based upon manuscripts in the Vatican Library, to which Monsignor O'Reilly had unimpeded access for several years. This volume is, therefore, an authentic biography in the fullest sense, and in that sense will not be supplanted even by the authorized life which, it has been announced at Rome, will appear some time in the near future.

A most difficult and delicate task was undertaken by the Rev. John Kelman in preparing a volume on "The Faith of Robert Louis Stevenson" (Revell). Mr. Kelman is recognized in Scotland as the successor of the late Professor Drummond, especially in the gift of success-

ful preaching to students. He is the minister of the Free New North Church of Edinburgh, near the university. Through his magnetic personality he has exercised a remarkable influence upon university students. Believing, as he says, that Stevenson has been more or less misunderstood, and that his religious faith is to be taken seriously, Mr. Kelman has made up this volume very largely from Stevenson's own sayings. He asks his readers to form their own conceptions of Stevenson's faith as set forth in his words. He believes that "Its unconventionality, its freedom from dogmatic expression, and the inseparable weaving of it into the warp and woof of his life's various activities must appeal to many who have found themselves out of sympathy with the external forms of Christianity, though in heart they have remained true to its spirit." Mr. Kelman has certainly made a striking and significant contribution to the rapidly growing literature of Stevenson's character and career.

A little book entitled "Letters to M. G. and H. G.," by John Ruskin (Harpers), illustrates a phase of Ruskin's character that has not been much dwelt upon in biographies. The letters included in this volume were written to the daughters of Mr. Gladstone, and, taken with the extracts from journals which accompany them, reveal the intimate relationship which Ruskin sustained with the various members of the Gladstone family. The serious differences between Gladstone and Ruskin on political and social subjects are lost sight of in the amiable and playful phrasing of these familiar letters.

One day, when the late Frederick W. Holls was calling on Herman Grimm, at his home in Germany, the latter spoke of certain letters of Emerson to him, then lying in the Goethe-Schiller Archives in Weimar, and he expressed a wish for their publication. He wrote credentials by which Mr. Holls might obtain these letters; but when Mr. Holls presented his letters at Weimar, he was shocked by the news that Grimm himself had been found dead in his bed the previous day. It was fortunate, indeed, that Grimm was led to speak to Mr. Holls of the matter at that particular time, and equally fortunate that the Emerson centenary occasioned the publication of the letters in the current year, before Mr. Holls himself had passed away. The letters appear, as translated by Mr. Holls, with a brief introduction, in a tiny volume issued from the press of Houghton, Mifflin & Co.

A half-forgotten episode in the life of an American literary woman of the past generation is brought to light in the volume entitled "Love Letters of Margaret Fuller, 1845-1846" (Appleton). Mrs. Julia Ward Howe, who furnishes an introduction to the book, seems to differ with the publishers as to the nature of the letters in question, and considers them "inspired by their fervent friendship." But whatever the nature of the sentiments that dictated the letters, there is much in them that suggests the enthusiasms of the writer, as well as her yearnings for sympathy. The letters were written to James Nathan, who changed his name to Gotendorf,



and at the period of their writing Miss Fuller was a member of Horace Greeley's family, in New York City, doing a daily task on the *Tribune*. In the present volume, the letters are supplemented by editorial notes,



MARGARET FULLER.

and by reminiscences of Emerson, Greeley, and Charles T. Congdon, all of whom were intimate friends and associates of Miss Fuller.

In "Memories of Yale Life and Men" (Dodd, Mead & Co.), ex-President Timothy Dwight has brought together his personal recollections of two generations of Yale teachers and students, infusing the whole with the warmth of his genial

personality. Few living Americans can boast so wide an acquaintance with leaders of American scholarship of the last fifty years, and probably no living graduate of Yale can supply personal details in the lives of Yale men in so great a range. President Dwight entered college in 1845, and from that year to 1899 his connection with the institution was unbroken. In his time he has been associated with so many men of national reputation that his recollections cannot fail to interest even a wider circle than that of Yale's great body of alumni.

Mr. T. Edgar Pemberton, who has written the "Life of Bret Harte" (Dodd, Mead & Co.), is an English playwright and author who was closely associated with Bret Harte in the later years of his life. Mr. Pemberton's acquaintance with his subject did not reach back to the California mining days, and on some accounts the American admirers of Bret Harte will



BRET HARTE.

prefer American biographers. The Englishman cannot understand the frontier conditions under which Bret Harte made his start in literature, but in the present case the deficiency is, to a great extent, atoned for by the numerous extracts from letters and other contemporary documents.

The story of Sir William Johnson is retold in a volume of Appletons' "Historic Lives Series" by Mr. Augustus C. Buell. The dramatic features of Johnson's

career have been exploited by historians and novelists to the neglect of the prosaic and practical side of Johnson's achievements. Mr. Buell does well to direct our

attention to Johnson's practical services in the management of Indian tribes, particularly in the French and Indian War and in the Pontiac War. The great mystery of the later years of Sir William's life,—whether he sided with the crown or with the colonies,—remains as much a mystery as ever. Mr. Buell draws no deductions on this subject, but finds that to the day of his death Sir William held aloof from the debates and animosities of both sides, taking no part whatever in the agitation of the patriots.

The forty-two-volume edition of Voltaire's works (Chicago: E. R. DuMont) is supplemented by an alphabetic "Index to His Works, Genius, and Character," with an appreciation of Voltaire by Oliver H. G. Leigh,

together with a portrait of the great Frenchman in photogravure.

In the series of "The World's Epoch-Makers," imported by Charles Scribner's Sons, Prof. James Orr, of the United Free Church and Glasgow College, has written a volume on "David Hume and His Influence on Philosophy and Theology."

#### A FEW VOLUMES OF HISTORY.

The seventh volume of that great work, "The Cambridge Modern History" (Macmillan), the plan of which has already been fully described in these pages, is wholly devoted to the United States. It includes chapters on "The English Colonies in the Revolution," by John E. Doyle; on "The Industrial and Political Growth of the Nation," by Professor McMaster; on "The State Rights Controversy,"

by President Woodrow Wilson; on "The Civil War," by John G. Nicolay; and on "The United States as a World Power, 1885-1902," by Prof. John B. Moore. Other periods and topics in the story of our national development are treated on the monographic plan by distinguished students. The advantages of this plan, from the point of view of the scholar, probably greatly outweigh the disadvantages, and in the absence

of any other authoritative one-volume history covering the entire ground it is probable that this volume will long remain the standard history of the United States. The excellent print and paper make the book highly



SIR WILLIAM JOHNSON.



EX-PRESIDENT TIMOTHY DWIGHT.



VOLTAIRE.

desirable as an acquisition to the average American home or school library.

Not satisfied with the late John Codman's account of Arnold's expedition to Canada, Prof. Justin H. Smith has written a five-hundred-page history of "Arnold's March from Cambridge to Quebec" (Putnams). This is a critical study of the whole campaign, and is accompanied by sketch maps and plans, together with an appendix containing Arnold's journal of his expedition. It is significant that so much attention should be paid in these later years to a military achievement which would long ago have received merited recognition at the hands of American historians but for the cloud that overhung the subsequent portion of Arnold's military career.

A book that was published just in the nick of time, considering the interest invoked by the Serbian assassination and other developments in the southeast of Europe, is the volume by Mr. William Eleroy Curtis entitled "The Turk and His Lost Provinces" (Revell). Mr. Curtis' work summarizes the history of Greece, Bulgaria, Servia, and Bosnia. As correspondent of the *Chicago Record-Herald*, Mr. Curtis made a journey through the Balkan Peninsula and obtained facts about the several "buffer" states, so called, which he has incorporated in the present volume. Quite apart from his story of the late king and queen of Servia, Mr. Curtis has performed a distinct service in furnishing much timely information about those imperfectly known countries which the great German soldier, von Moltke, predicted would be the theater of universal war.

Another timely publication is Justin McCarthy's "Ireland and Her Story" (Funk & Wagnalls). Even Mr. McCarthy's well-won reputation as a writer of brief histories would hardly prepare one to expect that he could, within the compass of less than two hundred small pages, tell the whole bitter story of Ireland's long-endured wrongs. Yet he has succeeded to a remarkable degree in including in this brief narrative the chief issues that have gone into the making of Irish history. The qualities of style that have contributed so greatly to the popularity of Mr. McCarthy's earlier works are present in this little volume to a marked degree. In clearness and in grace of expression, certainly no contemporary English writer can be said to surpass the author of the "History of Our Own Times."

In the second volume of his "A History of Scotland" (Dodd, Mead & Co.), Mr. Andrew Lang continues the narrative from the death of Cardinal Beaton, in 1546, to the last years of James VI., 1603-24. The element of personal character has a large place in Mr. Lang's work, and in the history of Scotland there is surely no lack of human interest.

In "Stories in Stone from the Roman Forum" (Macmillan), Isabel Lovell endeavors to answer the questions that intelligent travelers as well as historical students frequently ask regarding the center of Roman national life, and to provide this information in a con-

venient and attractive form. Thus, in succession, the Forum itself, the temple of Saturn, the temple of Vesta, the temple of Castor and Pollux, the temple of Concord, Julius Cæsar's Basilica and his temple, and the streets of the Forum are described, and all that is definitely known as to the history of these monumental buildings is clearly set forth.

In "The Library of Literary History" (Scribners), Prof. Edward G. Browne contributes "A Literary History of Persia." In this work, the author has attempted to give what he terms the intellectual history of the Persians rather than the history of the poets and others who expressed their thoughts through the medium of the Persian language. In this volume, therefore, more is said about movements than books, and less about books written in Persian than about those written in Arabic and some other languages.

In "The Territorial Growth of the United States" (New York: Silver, Burdett & Co.), Dr. William A. Mowry treats consecutively the various territorial acquisitions of the United States, from the acquiring of the Northwest Territory to the annexation of the Philippine Islands. In his search for the causes leading to the acquisition of each portion of territory, Dr. Mowry has gone back to original sources, state papers, and official documents. Special attention has been given to the history of the Louisiana Purchase and the acquisition of the Oregon country, topics with which Dr. Mowry is especially familiar. Excellent maps accompany the text.

#### BOOKS ABOUT ANIMAL LIFE.

"Birds in Their Relations to Men" is the title of a new work in the field of economic ornithology by Prof. Clarence M. Weed and Dr. Ned Dearborn (Lippincott). Some of the chapter headings will give an indication of the topics treated by these writers. For example: "The Methods of Studying the Food of Birds," "The Vegetable Food of Birds," "The Animal Food of Birds," "The Amount of Food Consumed by Birds," "Birds as Regulators of Outbreaks or Injurious Animals," "The Relations of Birds to Predaceous and Parasitic Insects," "The Conservation of Birds," "Preventing the Depredations of Birds," and "Encouraging the Presence of Birds." There are also specific chapters on many of the most common members of the American bird family which are full of suggestions as to the economic value to mankind of the various species treated. The book opens up a new and profitable field of investigation.

The Rev. William J. Long, whose controversy with John Burroughs on the subject of nature-study has occupied considerable space in the magazines for the last six months, is the author of a little volume entitled "Following the Deer" (Boston: Ginn & Co.). In this book, Mr. Long tells in an entertaining way the story of a young lad's experience in following the deer when he had only his eyes and wits to depend on for his knowledge of woodcraft. Mr. Long, it should be remarked, always acts upon the conviction that "an animal's life is vastly more interesting than his death, and that of all the joys of the chase, the least is the mere killing."

Mr. Frank C. Bostock, who has spent his life with wild animals, and who probably knows as well as a mere human can know their ways and their whims, has written an interesting book on "The Training of Wild Animals" (Century Company). The results that Mr.



MR. WILLIAM ELEROY CURTIS.

Bostock has achieved in his chosen calling have all been gained without the infliction of any form of cruelty on the dumb beasts that are chiefly concerned. This fact in itself adds interest to Mr. Bostock's narrative, and makes all the more impressive the stories that he tells of the habits and characteristics of the various animals.

#### WORKS OF REFERENCE.

Mr. Robert Brent Mosher, of the State Department of Washington, is the compiler and publisher of an "Executive Register of the United States, 1789-1902" (Washington, D. C., P. O. Box 70). In the preparation of this work, Mr. Mosher set out simply to compile a complete list of the heads of executive departments from the beginning of the Government to the present time, since he found that no such list existed even in the departments themselves; but as his work progressed, Mr. Mosher decided to incorporate the constitutional provisions and the acts of Congress governing their election, qualification, and term of office, and the filling of vacancies in the Presidency and the cabinet. Subsequently, he included the electoral and popular vote of each election, the first acts providing for the several executive departments, and, as an appendix, literal copies of the Declaration of Independence, the Articles of Confederation, and the Constitution, made from the originals in the archives of the Department of State. The volume as completed is a unique and valuable record of the executive departments of the Government. There is nothing like it anywhere in print, and the labor required to procure this information by personal search in the departments would be far too arduous for the average investigator or student to think of undertaking. To students and writers in American history especially, Mr. Mosher has rendered a service of unique value.

For the work of the joint commission which is to sit this month in judgment upon the Alaska boundary dispute, the government of the United States has, it is understood, prepared some remarkably interesting reproductions of old maps and various data which will doubtless in due time be made accessible to the public. Meanwhile, however, our government authorities must have found their work very much aided by an extremely valuable monograph entitled "The Alaska Frontier," prepared by Mr. Thomas Willing Balch, of the Philadelphia bar, in 1902, and now brought out in a new edition (Philadelphia: Allen, Lane & Scott). Mr. Balch's book is illustrated by the reproduction of various charts and maps, and its citations of authorities seem to be well-nigh exhaustive. This study of the subject shows that the long-received interpretation of the treaty of 1825 is correct beyond all possible doubt, and that the recent Canadian pretenses are fanciful afterthoughts.

"The International Year Book, 1902" (Dodd, Mead & Co.), is one of the best volumes in the series of these ad-

mirable publications. Of the special topics covered in this number, one of the most interesting is the anthracite coal strike, while the articles on "Strikes," the "Shipping Merger," and "Socialism" all have current interest. In timely maps and illustrations, this volume will be found superior to those that have preceded it.

"The Canadian Annual Review of Public Affairs, 1902," by J. Castell Hopkins (Toronto: William Briggs), combines with a record of important events in politics and Parliament many statements and tabulated statistics of trade, commerce, industry, and finance. Canadian trade relations with the British Empire as well as with the United States, now much discussed in connection with the proposed British "zollverein," are set forth in this volume with great fullness. Another feature of the work which will interest American readers in general is the attention devoted to the progress of agriculture, and especially of grain-production in the Northwest provinces, where there are so many prosperous American farmers who have emigrated within the past two or three years.

The eleventh volume of "The New International Encyclopædia" (Dodd, Mead & Co.) exemplifies many of the recognized principles of encyclopædia-making. It is well supplied with maps and portraits. Special articles seem to have been carefully prepared and brought well down to date. This is especially true of the articles on the "Locomotive," on "Light," on "Libraries," and on "Martinique." Of the biographical sketches in this volume, those on Abraham Lincoln and Robert E. Lee are, perhaps, the most noteworthy.

Volume IV. of "The Jewish Encyclopedia" (Funk & Wagnalls) is chiefly remarkable, perhaps, for its article on the Dreyfus case, written by a French publicist residing in Paris. This article occupies nearly thirty pages of the encyclopædia, and comprises an exhaustive review of the whole case.

Another abridgment of the Standard Dictionary (Funk & Wagnalls) has been issued, under the title of "The Concise Standard Dictionary." It gives the orthography, pronunciation, and meaning of about 28,000 words and phrases, contains 500 pictorial illustrations, and in an appendix treats the most important prefixes and suffixes, besides giving a set of simple rules for spellings, a list of proper names,—historical and geographical,—foreign words and phrases current in literature, with their English meanings, tables of weights and measures, tables of current coinage, symbolic flowers and gems with characteristic sentiments, and an explanatory list of common abbreviations. The editor states that the basis of selection of words has been the inclusion of all words that are sure to be used by the average person in his speaking and writing, with the addition of such words and phrases as are sure to be found in the books, papers, and magazines which are most likely to be read.



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## Abbreviations of Magazine Titles used in the Index.

[All the articles in the leading reviews are indexed, but only the more important articles in the other magazines.]

- |   |   |   |
|---|---|---|
| ACQR. American Catholic Quarterly Review, Phila.                        | EM. España Moderna, Madrid.   | NineC. Nineteenth Century, London.              |
| AHR. American Historical Review, N. Y.                                  | Ev. Everybody's Magazine, N. Y.   | NAR. North American Review, N. Y.               |
| AJS. American Journal of Sociology, Chicago.                            | Fort. Fortnightly Review, London.   | Nou. Nouvelle Revue, Paris.                     |
| AJT. American Journal of Theology, Chicago.                             | Forum. N. Y.  | NA. Nuova Antologia, Rome.                      |
| ALR. American Law Review, St. Louis.                                    | FrL. Frank Leslie's Monthly, N. Y.  | OC. Open Court, Chicago.                        |
| AMonM. American Monthly Magazine, Washington, D. C.                     | Gent. Gentleman's Magazine, London.   | O. Outing, N. Y.                                |
| AMRR. American Monthly Review of Reviews, N. Y.                         | GBag. Green Bag, Boston.  | Out. Outlook, N. Y.                             |
| ANat. American Naturalist, Boston.                                      | Gunt. Gunton's Magazine, N. Y.  | OutW. Out West, Los Angeles, Cal.               |
| Annals. Annals of the American Academy of Pol. and Soc. Science, Phila. | Harp. Harper's Magazine, N. Y.  | Over. Overland Monthly, San Francisco.          |
| Arch. Architectural Record, N. Y.                                       | Hart. Hartford Seminary Record, Hartford, Conn.                             | PMM. Pall Mall Magazine, London.                |
| Arena. Arena, N. Y.   | Hom. Homiletic Review, N. Y.  | Pear. Pearson's Magazine, N. Y.                 |
| AJ. Art Journal, London.  | IJE. International Journal of Ethics, Phila.                                | Phil. Philosophical Review, N. Y.               |
| Atlan. Atlantic Monthly, Boston.  | Int. International Quarterly, Burlington, Vt.                               | PhoT. Photographic Times-Bulletin, N. Y.        |
| Bad. Badminton, London.   | JMSI. International Studio, N. Y.   | PL. Poet-Lore, Boston.                          |
| BankL. Bankers' Magazine, London.                                       | J. Journal of the Military Service Institution, Governor's Island, N. Y. H. | PSQ. Political Science Quarterly, Boston.       |
| BankNY. Bankers' Magazine, N. Y.  | JPEcon. Journal of Political Economy, Chicago.                              | PopA. Popular Astronomy, Northfield, Minn.      |
| Bib. Biblical World, Chicago.   | Kind. Kindergarten Magazine, Chicago.                                       | PopS. Popular Science Monthly, N. Y.            |
| BibS. Bibliotheca Sacra, Oberlin, O.                                    | KindR. Kindergarten Review, Springfield, Mass.                              | PTR. Princeton Theological Review, Phila.       |
| BU. Bibliothèque Universelle, Lausanne.                                 | LHJ. Ladies' Home Journal, Phila.   | QJEcon. Quarterly Journal of Economics, Boston. |
| Black. Blackwood's Magazine, Edinburgh.                                 | Lamp. Lamp, N. Y.   | QR. Quarterly Review, London.                   |
| BL. Book-Lover, N. Y.   | Leish. Leisure Hour, London.  | RasN. Rassegna Nazionale, Florence.             |
| Bkman. Bookman, N. Y.   | Lipp. Lippincott's Magazine, Phila.   | RefS. Réforme Sociale, Paris.                   |
| BP. Brush and Penell, Chicago.  | LQ. London Quarterly Review, London.  | RRL. Review of Reviews, London.                 |
| CDR. Camera and Dark Room, N. Y.  | Long. Longman's Magazine, London.   | RRM. Review of Reviews, Melbourne.              |
| Can. Canadian Magazine, Toronto.  | Luth. Lutheran Quarterly, Gettysburg, Pa.                                   | Revue. Revue, Paris.                            |
| Cass. Cassell's Magazine, London.                                       | McCl. McClure's Magazine, N. Y.   | RDM. Revue des Deux Mondes, Paris.              |
| CasM. Cassier's Magazine, N. Y.   | Mac. Macmillan's Magazine, London.  | RGen. Revue Générale, Brussels.                 |
| Cath. Catholic World, N. Y.   | MA. Magazine of Art, London.  | RPar. Revue de Paris, Paris.                    |
| Cent. Century Magazine, N. Y.   | Meth. Methodist Quarterly Review, Nashville.                                | RPP. Revue Politique et Parlementaire, Paris.   |
| Cham. Chambers' Journal, Edinburgh.                                     | MethR. Methodist Review, N. Y.  | RSoc. Revue Socialiste, Paris.                  |
| Chaut. Chautauquan, Springfield, O.                                     | Mind. Mind, N. Y.   | Ros. Rosary, Somerset, Ohio.                    |
| Contem. Contemporary Review, London.                                    | MisH. Missionary Herald, Boston.  | San. Sanitarian, N. Y.                          |
| Corn. Cornhill, London.   | MisR. Missionary Review, N. Y.  | School. School Review, Chicago.                 |
| Cos. Cosmopolitan, N. Y.  | Mon. Monist, Chicago.   | Scrib. Scribner's Magazine, N. Y.               |
| CLa. Country Life in America, N. Y.                                     | MonR. Monthly Review, London.   | SR. Sewanee Review, Sewanee, Tenn.              |
| Crafts. Craftsman, Syracuse, N. Y.                                      | MunA. Municipal Affairs, N. Y.  | SocS. Social Service, N. Y.                     |
| Crit. Critic, N. Y.   | Mun. Munsey's Magazine, N. Y.   | Str. Strand Magazine, London.                   |
| Deut. Deutsche Revue, Stuttgart.  | NatGM. National Geographic Magazine, Washington, D. C.                      | Temp. Temple Bar, London.                       |
| DeutR. Deutsche Rundschau, Berlin.                                      | NatM. National Magazine, Boston.  | USM. United Service Magazine, London.           |
| Dial. Dial, Chicago.  | NatR. National Review, London.  | West. Westminster Review, London.               |
| Dub. Dublin Review, Dublin.   | NC. New Church Review, Boston.  | WPM. Wilson's Photographic Magazine, N. Y.      |
| Edin. Edinburgh Review, London.   | NewE. New England Magazine, Boston.   | WW. World's Work, N. Y.                         |
| Ed. Education, Boston.  |   | Yale. Yale Review, New Haven.                   |
| EdR. Educational Review, N. Y.  |   | YM. Young Man, London.                          |
| Eng. Engineering Magazine, N. Y.  |   | YW. Young Woman, London.                        |
| Era. Era, Philadelphia.   |   |   |



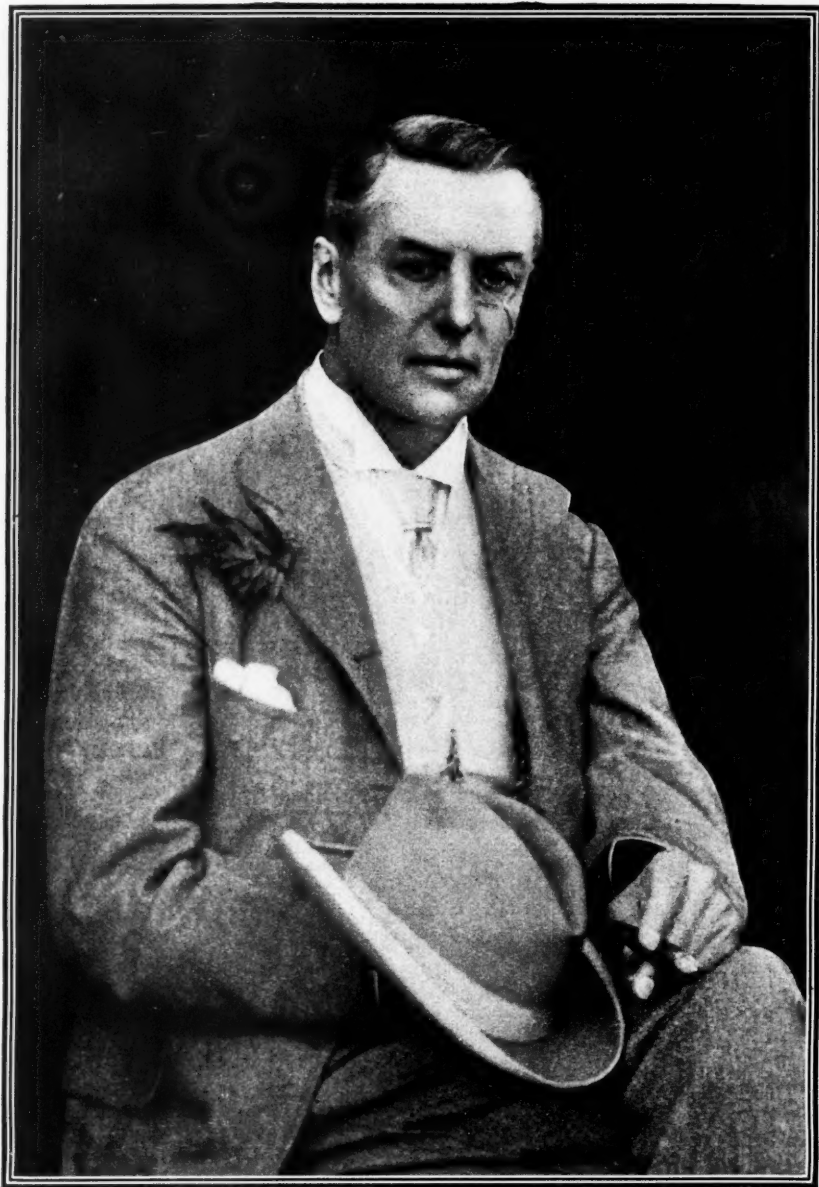
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THE RIGHT HON. JOSEPH CHAMBERLAIN.

(Who withdrew from the British cabinet last month, after eight years' service as colonial minister, and is waging a campaign for a British imperial protectionist policy.)